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STOP PRESS

PEACE NEWS

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LONDON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1940.

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AN ALTERNATIVE TO CONSCRIPTION

Train Youth for Democracy, Not for a Slave State

"HOW can I best serve humanity, in war as well as in peace?"

This is the basic question which the pacifist's conscience poses. In time of war the pacifist is specially conscious of the claims of the community: he is appalled at the form of service most valued by the State.

Dr. Alex Wood, the new chairman of the national council of the Peace Pledge Union, here considers what he calls "the dilemma of the new generation of conscientious objectors." He examines in particular detail Lord Derby's scheme for the compulsory training of young men between the years of leaving school and becoming liable for military service.

By Dr. ALEX WOOD

THE claim of the community on our service is one which every pacifist freely and gladly recognizes. In the Christian scale of values, service is the mark of true greatness, enforced by Jesus not merely in precept but also in example.

Nor is this emphasis accidental. Goodness is more than obedience to a code of which this is one article. True goodness is related to the purpose of the world in which we live—it consists in active co-operation with the good purpose which is at work in the world, and one of the methods of co-operation is mutual service.

Service is what binds a community—refusal to serve, and attempts to dominate, disintegrate it.

There was a time when every family was more or less self-sufficient; when the father could find, and the mother could prepare the food required; when the mother could produce such clothing as was necessary, and the family together could construct the rude shelter which was its home.

Now we have changed all that.

My family would fare ill if it depended on the food for which I could make myself personally responsible. Our united efforts at a house would afford a poor protection against our present weather, and although I yield to no one in my admiration for my wife's needlework, I would rather not have to appear in public in garments which were the result of her own unaided effort.

The Service We Need

The standard of living of the poorest members of our community could not possibly be maintained on an individual basis. We achieve it only by absorbing the specialized service of thousands—even millions—of our fellows daily, and we can justify this only if we are giving equivalent service in return. Money payment cannot discharge our debt unless it represents service. There is no such thing as "independent means." Let anyone who claims this status try it out on a desert island, and see how far his independence carries him.

Now in any worth-while post-war world these considerations must be basic. Everyone must be given the opportunity of service in constructive work, and no one must be allowed to evade the responsibility. Yet it is hardly too much to say that not until war was almost upon us did we give any thought to these considerations, and when the call to "national" service came, we found it was a call to "war" service with no opportunities for any kind of really constructive work.

This is the dilemma of the new generation of conscientious objectors. The absolutists are relatively less numerous now than in the last war. Their contribution is as important as ever, but of the young men who appear before our tribunals, the great majority are so sensitive to the claims of the community on their service that they are eager to find some positive and constructive work to do which is not primarily war work.

Proof of Solidarity

It is partly to meet this demand and that the Pacifist Service Bureau has been set up. The Bureau does not exist to encourage pacifists to offer alternative service. It does not even exist to endorse the action of those who do. It is provided to meet the needs of those for whom some positive and

(Continued on back page)

12 PAGES

We are happy to be able to provide our readers with a twelve-page paper again this week. This has been made possible by an exceptionally heavy demand for advertising space, which we felt it right to meet only if it enabled us to give readers better value for their money.

Contributors to this issue also make it an important one. They include four of the outstanding personalities of the pacifist movement:

Dr. Alex Wood

and

Wilfred Wellock

on this page;

Lord Ponsonby

and

Middleton Murry

on page six.

We wish to produce more special issues in future. Whether we shall be able to do so depends upon the support we get from readers and upon securing the necessary supplies of paper.

Paper supplies are outside our control. The other conditions are within our control—and yours. We will produce the best paper we can with the resources at our disposal; you can help by making it as widely known as possible and by sending a donation to the "Peace News" Fund.

FOR IDEAS—SEE BACK PAGE

THEREFORE . . .

the first of a new series by

WILFRED WELLOCK

EVERY social system rests on certain practices and assumptions, which have their roots in a principle. If that underlying principle can be discovered it becomes possible to determine the value and permanency of the social order which springs from it. That fact is emphasized in the phrase so often used in this connexion: "contains the seeds of its own destruction."

Once we discover the principle upon which a civilization rests it is possible to explain its history and predict its future, and in so far as it is an evil principle, the nature of the social disintegration which will lead to ultimate collapse.

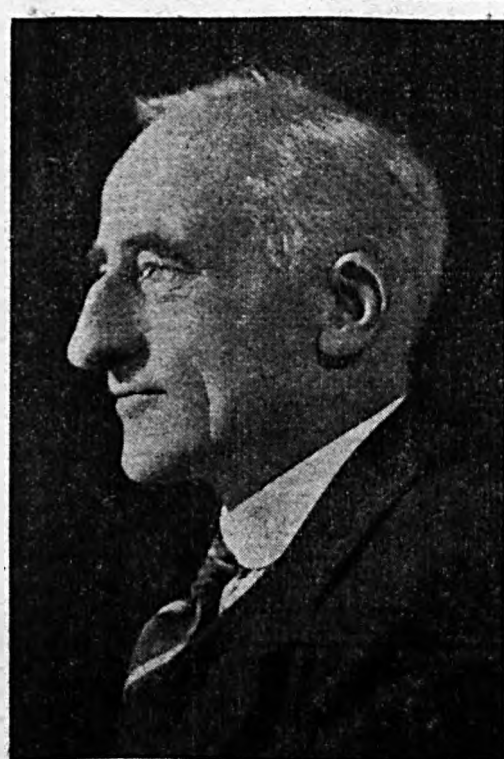
The social system which almost completely dominates the world today, and which is known as capitalism, rests on the immoral principle of human exploitation whereby one man gains riches and power at the expense of the freedom and well-being of his fellows. Moreover, that immoral principle has as its economic corollary a mal-distribution of wealth from which spring such evils as soul-less labour, brutal competition, mass unemployment, widespread poverty, imperialism, war, monopoly, total war and finally totalitarianism.

It can also be demonstrated that as each of these evils manifests itself, it prepares the way for greater evils, although in fact these are but more acute forms of the original evil, just as pneumonia is an acute form of "cold." The habits which produce a cold will, if continued, produce influenza, then pneumonia. So the evil of one man exercising domination over his fellows logically and necessarily ends in totalitarianism.

Mass unemployment leads to imperialism, or the necessity for controlled markets. But imperialism leads to the greater evil of war, while war so upsets the balance of trade by greatly increasing the world's power of production (as is happening today) as to lead to the formation of a few huge economic units in fierce rivalry with each other, and at the same time to totalitarianism.

But even in totalitarianism capitalism cannot find stability. Indeed totalitarianism turns out to be the mammoth which devours the capitalist dragon, as Germany has proved.

All this is of tremendous importance to the pacifist, since it proves to him this very profound truth, that his job is not merely to end war but the evil principles in society which cause it, and, what follows from that, to lay down the principles upon which society can live in harmony and peace, and withal to seek to get those principles accepted and established.



ALEX WOOD, M.A., D.Sc.

"Make Peace Now!"

AMERICAN ADVICE

"THE last few weeks have shown that the popular hope of an early peace has waned. Speeches, radio talks, editorials, cartoons reflect the view that the real war can be expected in the spring.

"Nevertheless, millions of Americans remain of the opinion that peace is possible and continue to ask why the Allies cannot get together with the Conservative or Liberal elements in Germany.

"A catch phrase invented and repeated almost daily in the New York Daily News is: 'Both sides can make a better peace now than either side can make after a fight to the finish.'—Robert Waithman, in the News Chronicle, January 30.

See also Dutch Foreign Secretary's plea, page 7.

A Pacifist Commentary . . . Edited by "Observer"

FORECASTS that war will flare up in the spring are now being supplemented by demands that Britain should take the initiative in making it do so.

Mr. L. S. Amery, a "die-hard" Government MP, wants the RAF to adopt an offensive policy. Colonel Lord Dudley Gordon, President-elect of the Federation of British Industries, has urged "overwhelming blows on land and sea and in the air."

Such suggestions are hardly surprising from Right-wing sources. But most people will, I imagine, be astounded at Mr. H. G. Wells allying himself with them, and urging in an American magazine that the Allies should subject Berlin to "intense aerial bombardment." Explaining his views to the *Daily Mail* on Friday, he added:

"This is war, and this is what it must come to. I would rather bomb the Germans than starve them. In the end it will be quicker, and it will leave the Germans, it may be, in a healthier state of mind."

Mr. Wells is still deluded by the theory that to intensify the war would ultimately be more merciful. A stricken Spain can testify to the fact that such savagery does not have the hoped-for effect. It is much more likely to provoke more savagery in retaliation, and to feed the fires of hatred.

It is true, of course, that—as in the case of the blockade, to which I referred last week—the arguments against bombing are really arguments against war itself. I also referred last week to the possible significance of a recent investigation which showed a large minority opposed to the policy of a British air offensive.

But the fact that such demands are now being raised is itself significant. Changes in policy have only too often been preceded by a growing chorus of "suggestions," which may or may not have been feelers to test the public's reaction.

No one in his senses would suggest as a practicable proposal a continuation of the war without using the bomber. But if one accepts the proposal that the war shall go on, we may be very near the time when this will automatically involve the fullest use of the bomber; that is, total war, or no war at all.

Those who are still working for peace will need no other spur in their task. For if total war should come, their task will be made infinitely more difficult—and so will the attainment of the new world order about which Mr. Wells has written so much lately.

"Total peace" may be equally out of the question as an immediate proposition, but we can at least urge an armistice without conditions, to enable the voice of sanity to be heard.

Wanted: A British Lead

THE task of persuading one's fellow-countrymen to renounce war sometimes seems almost impossible. Yet it must be done if this country is to lead the world towards peace.

History can give us encouragement. The



CADBURY'S MILK CHOCOLATE

"Total War"—or No War :: When Britain Led the World :: Hitler's Anniversary :: India's Methods

story of the slave trade shows what can be done by a minority, and how this country can give a lead that others will follow.

The facts were set out in a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* on January 17. This told how Britain entered the lucrative slave trade after other nations, and eventually overtook all competitors because she was the leading sea power. By the eighteenth century we were the world's great slave-trading nation.

The article continued:

"Dr. Goebbels is entitled to point out that our commercial prosperity and our naval strength owed a great deal to this infamous traffic. Before the end of the century Liverpool had secured three-sevenths of the slave trade of Europe. This fact is discreditable to Britain, but it makes the British achievement in abolishing it more striking."

"The first European Government to put an end to the trade in its own possessions was the Government of Denmark. This was done by a royal order in 1792. The abolition of the trade in British vessels was carried in 1807, though the effective action was taken a year earlier by Fox, then a dying man, who used all his moral power on taking office to carry a reform that had been too much for Pitt, to the great disappointment of Wilberforce."

"One of the chief opponents of abolition at that time was Castlereagh, but he and Wellington used all their influence at the Peace Congress at the end of the French Wars to induce other nations to follow our example. A general resolution was passed in favour of abolition, a separate treaty was made with France, and Britain later paid £400,000 to Spain and £300,000 to Portugal to facilitate abolition. Thus the British record has a noble chapter of repentance as well as a long chapter of guilt."

The materialist might object that by the time Britain abolished the slave-trade the rise of industrialism had made it out of date. The answer is that although self-interest may have ultimately played a part, it was the growing feeling of horror at the abominations of the trade which led to the agitation against it on purely humanitarian grounds. And this, in turn, was largely responsible for the final renunciation.

In any case, the parallel between slavery and war is still very close. For are there not vested interests which profit from war and preparations for it? Yet is not war itself injurious to the real interests of the mass of mankind?

Mr. Hore-Belisha, C.O.

IN the course of his brief resignation speech in Parliament on January 16, Mr. Hore-Belisha made a significant statement which was commented upon in another *Manchester Guardian* leader on the following day in these words:

"He rightly said—and it is an important principle—that those who are offered posts 'of however great or however minor importance' have a duty to accept them 'if they can do so in circumstances which permit them to give of their best to the service of the State.'"

In the subsequent debate Mr. George Griffith said:

"He (Mr. Hore-Belisha) had a conscientious objection to taking on a job in another direction, and he has refused to take on another job."

This would seem to be strictly analogous to the position of a CO who, while having no conscientious objection to agriculture, forestry, first-aid, or other proffered occupation as such, yet believes that he would not be able to give of his best to the State (and humanity in general) by accepting the alternative service on the conditions and in the circumstances in which they are offered. On the *Manchester Guardian's* "important principle" such a CO would clearly be right to follow Mr. Hore-Belisha's excellent example and decline such an alternative.

"Creator of Modern Germany"

TUESDAY was the seventh anniversary of Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of Germany. It is the fashion to blame

him for everything that has happened since. That is foolish. Responsibility rests upon many individual politicians and to some extent upon the ordinary people of the world.

But the following quotation from Mr. Lloyd George's book *The Truth About the Peace Treaties* (page 252), will help to put matters in their proper perspective:

"He (Poincaré) encouraged insurrection in the Rhineland against the authority of the Reich—intrigued with the anti-German elements in Britain to thwart every effort in the direction of restoring good will in Europe."

"He is the true creator of modern Germany with its great and growing armaments, and should this end in another conflict the catastrophe will have been engineered by Poincaré. His dead hand lies on Europe today."

Prophetic words. And, as the correspondent who sent the quotation points out, they are the complete answer to the Bishop of Grantham's allegation that pacifists "are more responsible than anybody else for the fact that we are once again involved in war."

I referred last week to the comments which this allegation had aroused. The incident has since shown once again how useful is the practice of writing letters on such subjects to the local Press.

Three letters answering the Bishop were written, spontaneously, at a meeting of the Lincoln group of the Peace Pledge Union, on January 16. The following day all were published by the *Lincolnshire Echo*. A fourth letter appeared the following day. In addition, the *Grantham Journal* asked the writers for permission to reproduce their letters.

As one of the writers himself comments, it is "a striking illustration of what letters to the Press will do."

[See Letters to Other Editors, p. 11.]

Non-Violence in India

FRIDAY last was observed as Independence Day in India.

Members of the All-India Congress Movement renewed their solemn pledge "to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj (complete independence) is attained." The pledge also contained the following indication of what is implied by non-violence:

"We believe that non-violent action in general, and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading good will among fellow-men without distinction of caste or creed."

"We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed."

"We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. . . . Charkha and khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements, nothing but khadi, and so far as possible products of village handicrafts only, and endeavour to make others do likewise."

Commenting on the pledge in his weekly paper *Harijan*, Mr. M. K. Gandhi reiterated recently his assertion that non-violence must not be that of the weak. He added:

"We witness the sorry spectacle of us confessing that, though this non-violence of the weak may bring us freedom from English rule, it cannot enable us to resist foreign invasion. . . . Congressmen should not be surprised, if I would not declare civil disobedience unless I was morally certain that they had understood the full significance of non-violence and that they were carrying out the triple programme with as much zest as they would offer civil disobedience, so called. They would perhaps now understand why I call the three items of the programme essentials of non-violence."

Communal Problems

ON the very thorny and topical question of communal fellowship Mr. Gandhi said:

"Facts are meant for big people. They do not affect men in the street, the ground-down millions. In cultivating fellowship among these, written facts are not needed."

"Do Congressmen cultivate good will towards all without political motive? This fellow-feeling should be natural, not born out of fear or expedience, even as fellowship between blood

brothers, not being born out of any ulterior motive, is natural and lasting. Nor is it to be applied only as between Hindus and Muslims. It has to be universal."

He concluded by insisting on the need for khadi (home-spun cloth) to be universally adopted in India:

"Only then will it become a mighty symbol of voluntary co-operation and one purpose. It is a symbol of identification with the poorest in the land. . . . It must become a reality if true non-violence is to permeate us."

Elsewhere in the same issue of *Harijan* he declared that "Heart peace among communities and reinstatement of the (spinning-) wheel in every home are my politics, for I expect to gain the freedom of the country from political and economic bondage through these means in the place of red rebellion."

Mr. Gandhi will meet the Viceroy on Monday.

Stop it Now!

AN entry dated February 11, 1918, in *The Journals of Arnold Bennett* gives an excellent portrayal of the mood that prevailed after three-and-a-half years of war.

Arnold Bennett describes how he came up to London "to meet Grey (Viscount Grey of Fallodon) at Spender's as one of the 'Writer's Group.'" He continues:

"Grey said that both Italy and Rumania had not been asked to come in. They suggested coming in, and gave their terms, which in the main we had to agree to, in order to prevent them being inimically neutral, or, as regards Rumania, going over to the other side."

"He said that agreement with Russia as regards giving her Constantinople, was result of Turkey, after promising to be neutral, wantonly attacking her ports."

"He explained why none of the principal Governments dared make peace—they could offer nothing to their peoples to show for the war."

Could there be better evidence of the wisdom of stopping this war now, before governments get to the stage where they "dare" not make peace since they have nothing to show for all the futile and costly sacrifices evoked from their peoples?

Breaking the News

FROM a leading article in *Manchester Evening News*, January 16.

"Col. Storey, chief executive officer of the National A.R.P. Committee for Animals, advises people to wear their masks occasionally in the house to let their animal or bird pets grow accustomed to seeing them. It will, he suggests, help to prevent panic among the pets during air raids."

"It is a sound idea. Otherwise the pets might come with a sudden shock to the conclusion that their lords and masters, rulers of the earth, had gone completely mad. It is better for them to realise it gradually."

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SAY "NO!" TO WAR

By Janis Mikelsons
of Latvia

CHRISTIANS say, "We are saved; Christ has taken away our sins!"

War is caused by sin, and therefore there could not be a war between Christians or Christian people, if they really are saved from sin in Jesus Christ! It is a weakness of Christendom that we confess war to be evil and do not want to engage in it, but are ready to kill in certain circumstances.

Christians ought to be known in every country as people who have nothing to do with arms and carnal weapons and who do not take revenge on their enemies.

Here is where the need for something international, some international authority, comes in. Jesus Christ is international in his character and teaching. He must be represented here on earth in the Church as an international body. But the Church itself has failed to do its real task and has lost authority.

There is another mistake—the Church allied to the State, which has to be defended with secular weapons. When we are reborn men and women we have to realize that we are only the citizens of the Kingdom of God, and our first principle is close fellowship with all those other citizens of God's Kingdom all over the world. The State is only an instrument to serve the common good, and nothing more. Therefore I do not see a special obligation to the State; my first obligation is to serve my fellowmen in one country as much as in any other.

There may be some people in some countries who want war, but it is altogether a very small minority who make trouble in the world. The problems of the world lie in the lack of fellowship between those who do not want war at all. How shall man be made at one with man, class with class, nation with nation, and all men with God? There is no unity between men because unity is broken with God.

Now, how to make our efforts for peace effective and our voices heard. If all the world's churches and Christian bodies could agree between themselves to declare to their respective governments their decision never to partake in war and fight against each other, explaining that the same decision has been made by all Churches internationally, that they have declared it to their respective governments everywhere, and that therefore there is no need to fight against their fellow-believers, it could be a real and very great achievement.

But it is not enough merely to oppose war. There must be a practical policy as well. The Christian Church or community, moreover, can have more authority in the world only if everything is right in community itself. There are those who reproach Christian pacifists that they do not do anything more than others and that they cannot be logical in the present state of society. Here too we see that economic life must be soiled in Christian communities.

Visits between different Christian groups and Churches internationally can work very much for this cause—to destroy national and racial barriers, and prejudices, and promote world peace. Not only such visits, but, more especially, groups of good will should go abroad for practical service—especially to those in trouble.

MONTHLY
The ADELPHI
Edited by Max Plowman

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The ADELPHI, at "The Oaks," Langham,
near Colchester, Essex.

In this article the Rev. MARTIN E. TUPPER
responds to our invitation to describe

The Lot of a Pacifist Priest In War

WE are fond of saying that the world is going after new gods, the god of Money, the god of Force, the god of Self-interest. These gods are not new, they are old, and the oldest and most universal of them all is the god of Expediency.

The god of Expediency holds complete sway over the lives of individuals, the ethic of churches, and the policy of nations. All are his willing slaves. We dare not disobey for fear of the consequences.

The individual must be dishonest rather than lose his job. The churches must compromise truth rather than offend the susceptibilities, and therefore the pockets, of their more wealthy adherents. The nations must jeopardize the lives of millions rather than lose their prestige, their empires, or their economic advantage.

Expediency quite often wears the cloak of altruism, as at Munich or Poland, at the Vatican or Lambeth, or even the Vicarage of Hogs Norton.

The Christian Duty

NOW, I believe that the job of a Christian and the job of a pacifist is to alter all that; to replace the god of Expediency by the God of Moral Principle. This is the purpose of the Church, but since she is endeavouring to serve a synthesis of the two, there is little hope that in her present apostate state she will achieve it.

Christ, from whom we learn of this other and true way of life, knew nothing of such terms as "expediency," "security," or "self-interest." To Him, because a course of action was morally right it had to be followed, without a thought to consequences and no matter what insecurity or martyrdom might result. He knew that only so could the world be redeemed from its thralldom to expediency and the evils which result.

Only so can the true God reign and man fulfil his highest purpose. The task of a priest is to proclaim this "more excellent way," and to encourage others to follow it, by his example, as well as by his word.

But if he still clings to expediency, if he is not willing to take the risks and sacrifices which he asks others to take, he is in a very weak position. Because so many of us don't take the way of moral right ourselves, we don't ask others to take it, and so we water down the uncompromising demands of Christ and substitute for the Gospel Ethic a morality of expediency.

How uncomfortably true are the spoken and unspoken retorts which are levelled against us parsons! "It is all very well," says the business man, "for you in your position of easy security to tell me to be honest. But I should lose my job if I was." The would-be conscientious objector, or the true one for that matter, may well say, "It's hardly fair to hide behind your collar. You're not asked to make this moral decision and risk the consequences." Or the man in the Fighting Services may justly remark, "Well, Padre, you're always preaching about sacrifice but when it comes to the point it is I who am willing to make sacrifices for my creed, while you sit back and enjoy your comfortable stipend which I am helping to defend."

Resigned Curacy

THE authority and influence of Christ lay in the fact that He shared the full implications of those truths which He asked others to practise. And further, He believed those truths so intensely that He was willing to suffer scorn, and persecution, and death itself, rather than deny them.

That was His way of life, and I very haltingly try to follow it. I hate to write about myself, and nothing would induce me to do so if I had not been asked to, and if I did not think that possibly my small experience might help someone somewhere to make the final break with expediency.

As a Church of England parson I have, for the past eight years, been preaching pacifism as the way of life for men and nations. To me it is the logical and inevitable expression of the Christian Faith. Indeed, I would say that Christian faith which does not issue in pacifist practice is a travesty of that dynamic which issued from the life and lips of Christianity's Founder.

But to preach the way of non-violence to Christian congregations is to lay oneself open to abuse, to mental persecution, to charges of fanaticism, and to victimization. I have experienced all this, in common with other pacifist priests, but for me

there has been added the fact of unemployment and insecurity.

It happened in this way: After many vain attempts had been made to restrain my expression of the truth, I was finally forbidden to preach the way of non-violence. Since I do not hold with the principle that those who pay the piper have the right to call the tune, especially in things spiritual, and since I value the free expression of truth more highly than my own security, rather than submit to my mouth being bridled, I took the only course open to me and resigned my Curacy. For four months now I have been endeavouring to find some niche, where in freedom of conscience and expression, I might serve God and my fellow-men, but without success.

No Regrets

ALTHOUGH the wolf is getting perilously near the door I do not regret for one moment the step which I have taken, for I believe that it was the only right one. Had I done otherwise and taken the way of easy expediency, and stifled the truth for the sake of my security, I should have been haunted by the knowledge that I had acted the part of Judas.

But now possessing nothing of great value save the integrity of my conscience, I can say to the business man, to the conscientious objector, and to all who have moral decisions to make which are fraught with risks and sacrifices, "Let go expediency, and follow the right in spite of consequences." And to the man in the Fighting Services, "I too know the meaning of sacrifice, though not by the means of slaughtering others."

"I have sacrificed, not my life, but my security and perhaps my career; not for the sake of my King and Country, but for the sake of a greater King whose weapon was love and whose throne was a cross; not for the defence of a nation or the de-

struction of merely the Nazi ideology, but for the building of the Kingdom of Truth and Love and the destruction of the universal ideology of force.

This must sound dreadfully egotistical, but I hope that it may not be thought so. I must add that every "I" should be a "we," for my wife who shares my convictions to the full is also bravely sharing the consequences.

HOW MAN MUST EVOLVE

WE need not so much to change human nature as to understand it, said Dr. Howard E. Collier, psychologist and a member of the Society of Friends, at a recent weekly meeting of the Worcester group of the Peace Pledge Union.

The stumbling block to man's progress down the ages, he continued, had been pride; the antithesis of pride was pity, which was a more fundamental side of man's nature. The awakening of a spirit of pitiful sociability was the hope of mankind which would lead to a new phase of evolution.

Danger of Extinction

He pointed out that man was one of the smaller specimens of the animal kingdom and had won his way to his position of superiority in the evolutionary race, not through size and strength, but by the development of intellect. Moreover, the heavily protected animals of prehistoric days had become extinct, and the warning man would also tend toward extinction.

Plato had said, "The universe is founded upon persuasion," and man would have to learn that co-operation with the ideal forces of his creator was the way he was meant to live, in accordance with the divine plan.

"What Plato thought, Jesus did," and his dictum, "the meek shall inherit the earth," was supported by the theses of science, philosophy and psychology.

In conclusion Dr. Collier said that what was needed at the present time was a religion permeated with the spirit of pity and having a social bearing, and that the adherents of such a religion could pass the light on to others through the quality and example of their own lives.

He believed that the hearts of the mass of mankind were gradually and imperceptibly being prepared for the coming of Christ in society and that the change, when it came, would come suddenly, since creative evolutionary life always went with a burst.

ADVANTAGE OF A DULL RAZOR

There is a sort of man who likes to use dull razor blades because they lessen the risk of cuts. Given the minor gain he is prepared to sacrifice the major advantage of a clean-shaven face. He lacks a sense of proportion.

Similarly there are folk who dislike having an income because they have to pay income tax. This is foolish. Tax is heavy, but there is still something left from income after tax has been paid.

But for those who dislike income tax there is a better way out than the sacrifice of income. Why not have an income free of tax? A generous return on one's money, and no deductions? An investment in St. Pancras Building Society, if made before the 31st March next, will earn four per cent. per annum, entirely free of income tax. It is well worth having, whether you like your razor blades dull or sharp.

SAVE TO



CONSTRUCT

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, N.W.1.

HISTORIC CHALLENGE TO CIVILISATION

A New Declaration of the RIGHTS OF MAN

MEN and women all over the world are deeply concerned that out of this war should develop a new conception of international society that will enable them to live in peace and in freedom.

The DAILY HERALD believes that a definition and reaffirmation of the principles upon which human liberty should rest, in the form of a New Declaration of the Rights of Man, can play a decisive part in pulling together that mass of anxious questing after the foundation of a permanent peace.

Such a Declaration must, if it is to be of value, grow out of nation-wide and, eventually, out of world-wide discussion and debate.

It is with this purpose that the DAILY HERALD will initiate on Monday, February 5th, a national discussion on a New Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Mr. H. G. Wells, Chairman The Debate will be under the Chairmanship of Mr. H. G. Wells, who has drafted a number of provisional clauses for such a Declaration. In the columns of the DAILY HERALD he will open the discussion on each clause.

These draft clauses are only suggestions meant to stimulate debate, not only through correspondence in the DAILY HERALD, but at organised meetings and group discussions throughout the country.

The ideas which emerge will be considered by the following authoritative Committee, which will redraft the Declaration in the light of the debate:—

Mr. H. G. WELLS,
Chairman.

LORD SANKEY, P.C., G.B.E.,
former Lord Chancellor.

LORD HORDER, G.C.V.O., M.D.,
Distinguished Physician.

SIR NORMAN ANGELL,

Nobel Peace Prizewinner.

Miss MARGARET BONDFIELD, P.C., LL.D.,
First Woman Cabinet Minister

SIR JOHN ORR, D.S.O., F.R.S.,
Leading Authority on Social Problems.

MRS. BARBARA WOOTTON, M.A.,
Distinguished Woman Economist.

SIR RICHARD GREGORY, F.R.S., D.Sc., LL.D.,

President of the British Association.
MR. FRANCIS WILLIAMS,
Editor of the DAILY HERALD.

Further eminent authorities will be added to the Committee.

Contributors to Debate.

Leading the debate in the columns of the DAILY HERALD will be the foremost thinkers of to-day. They include: The Archbishop of York; Mr. George Bernard Shaw; Prof. Archibald Mann, D.D., Moderator of the Church of Scotland; The Earl of Lytton, K.G., Chairman of League Mission to Manchuria; Mr. J. B. Priestley, novelist and playwright; the Rt. Hon. C. K. Atlee, M.P., Leader of the Opposition; General Carpenter, of the Salvation Army; Hon. Harold Nicolson, C.M.G., M.P., author and diplomatist; Prof. Lancelot Hogben, F.R.S.; Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S.; Miss Rose Macaulay, novelist; Prof. J. A. Kyle, M.A., M.D., Professor of Physics, Cambridge; the Rt. Hon. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., Deputy Leader of the Opposition; Prof. Ernest Barker, LL.D., Professor of Political Science, Cambridge; the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, M.P., Leader of the L.C.C.; Prof. C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit., head of Department of Philosophy and Psychology, Birkbeck College; the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P.; Dr. J. J. Mallon, C.B., LL.D., Warden of Tynbee Hall and former Governor of B.B.C.; Sir Walter Langdon-Brown, M.A., M.D., eminent physician; Prof. Norman Bentwich, O.B.E.; Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P.; Sir William Jowitt, K.C.; Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of "New Statesman and Nation"; Mr. Leonard Woolf, Editor of "The Political Quarterly"; Mr. W. Holmes, Chairman of the T.U.C.; Mr. Charles Dukes, National Union of General and Municipal Workers; Mr. J. Marchbank, National Union of Railwaymen; Mr. George Hicks, M.P.; Mr. Will Lawther, President of the Mineworkers' Federation; the Rev. Sidney Berry, D.D., M.A., Secretary of the Congregational Union; Mr. George Gibson, Member of Trades Union Congress General Council; Prof. Harold Laski, Professor of Political Science; Mrs. Barbara Ayton Gould, Chairman of the Labour Party.

This momentous Plan concerns you, your family, your home, your future. It is imperative that you should not only give it serious thought but that you should study its day-to-day development in the DAILY HERALD. Great changes are upon us—and it is significant that so many eminent men and women in so many different walks of life have actively associated themselves with the idea of drawing up this new Declaration of the Rights of Man. Lord Sankey (a former Lord Chancellor and a member of the Committee) says: "I believe this can be made a truly historic document." It can! And the ideas that will emerge from the discussion which starts on Monday in the DAILY HERALD will have a profound influence on the attitude of the world, not only to the war—but to the peace. For they will be an authoritative expression of opinion that no Government dare ignore. This is much more than an absorbingly interesting newspaper feature—it is history being made. Watch it—follow it—if you wish, join in it—your opinion will be welcomed. Ask your newsagent at once to be sure to supply the DAILY HERALD to you regularly each day—commencing on Monday. While every effort will be made to meet the huge demand for copies, it must be pointed out that owing to wartime publishing restrictions you can only be sure of securing your copies by placing your order with your newsagent in advance!

Starting in

Daily Herald

ON MONDAY

In this, the third of his series of articles, "Speaking Personally"

R. H. WARD discusses

Propaganda by Example

BUT how does all this concentration on the individual, all this introspection and self-integration, bring us any nearer to a world in which the superficial manifestations of warfare (the bombs, submarines and guns) will have ceased to manifest?

How do these things convert other people to pacifism and swell the numbers of organizations like the Peace Pledge Union? Cannot war be got rid of more quickly by propaganda, by telling people not to fight, and so on?

People will fight in one way or another so long as it is in their natures to do so, so long as war exists in their own beings. What is usually meant by propaganda has its very useful place, but it alone, and a growing membership of pacifist societies alone, will not stop wars (and by wars we mean all the different kinds of wars, for though some of them are less spectacular than those which use bombs and guns, they are none the less productive of human suffering).

Greatest Propaganda

AS a means to lead people to the understanding of whence wars proceed ("cut of the heart") propaganda of the noisier sort is excellent; but propaganda must not stop there. The greatest of all methods of propaganda is, again, the art of life, or what is sometimes called propaganda by example.

A man can only act according to the condition of his inward being; he can only live peacefully if he has peace within himself. It is by our actions that others decide whether we are "right" or "wrong," "good" or "bad" and whether what we preach is "good" or "bad," practicable or impracticable.

You may preach pacifism till you are blue in the face, but no-one who knows that you will beat your wife when you get home is going to be deeply impressed or persuaded to become a pacifist too.

It is far less because of what he said than because of what he was and did that we are moved, even two thousand years later, by the idea of Jesus. (It is strange to reflect that, although he did it, we do not think very readily of Jesus preaching to the multitude; we remember Him rather as the man who cared for the woman taken in adultery, as a man whose best work was done on intimate and personal terms.)

So much concern with the individual is only one step towards concern for the community. Not until a man is inwardly integrated is he fit to be re-integrated into the community and to play his rightful and peaceful part in it.

Value of Peace Within

A MAN who is peaceful in the true and inward sense, not only in the loudly verbal and outward (on platform) sense, cannot fail to carry on propaganda by example. He is like a stone thrown into the pool of his own surrounding society; no-one can tell how far the spreading ripples of his influence may carry, who will be moved by them, how many will be changed by them. For it is only when we doubting humans see the tangible results of what a man preaches that we begin to be impressed and to wonder if, after all, he is not right.

A greater and firmer step towards international peace is taken when one man sees that another has love in his heart and his actions and thus aspires to be like him. This is taken when a thousand hear another preaching peace, and go away forgetting what he has said. The making of peace is a process of small and painful steps, not of mass conversions.

It has been the contention of these articles that "pacifism now" and at all times is the bringing to reality of peace in the individual heart, in order that the individual may live peacefully, creatively, and so be an artist in living who inspires others to live as he does.

We all long for a quicker and an easier way than this; we all grudge time his revenges and look for a universal panacea that will change the world in the twinkling of an eye. But the world is what we make it; its condition depends on the condition of the men who walk upon it; and our present condition is one of war.

Adjustments Require Time

JUST as we have no right to be surprised that wars break out between nations, we have no right to believe that any hasty and superficial treatment of world conditions, any political expedient or economic readjustment, can bring them to an end. These political and economic readjustments can only come when there has been an adjustment at a lower level, and as the result of a state of mind in the majority of human beings that will bring them about inevitably.

You cannot cure measles by treating the rash, even though it is the most obvious symptom of the disease; the whole body has to be brought back to health; then the

rash will disappear. The application of these methods requires time, a very long time. We need not think that we shall achieve peace in our time, or indeed for very many centuries; this is depressing but true.

Other methods that do not go so deep have failed and must fail; they have no roots. Peace can only be made by peace-makers. There is no shortcut to the Kingdom of Heaven, and although that Kingdom is within ourselves, the journey to it is the longest journey of all.

Richard Ward was for some time Literary Adviser to the P.P.U. He was the founder of the Adelphi Group, and inspired the creation of the Pacifist Service Bureau.

His publications include "What IS Non-Violent Technique?" "The Progress to the Lake," "The Powys Brothers" and "The Human Factor."

His first two articles in this series appeared in our issues of Jan. 12 and 19.

HOW WE SHOULD MEET OUR OPPONENTS

Dr. Herbert Gray and his Critics

Since the publication of Dr. Herbert Gray's front page article on January 12 the Editor has received various letters of criticism, which he has forwarded to the author for his consideration. Below we print Dr. Gray's reply.

I AM much obliged to you for sending me the letters of criticism which my recent article in *Peace News* has evoked. I also received myself a number of letters of thanks and appreciation, for which in this way I would like to thank the writers.

Certainly writing for *Peace News* leads to invigorating experiences. Your correspondents castigate me vigorously and with much spirit. I am told that I am vague, mild, passive, elderly, ignorant, &c.

But these criticisms do not touch the real issue which seems to me so important that I would like to add a few words about it.

Pacifists believe that in the last resort the only effective way to meet violent aggression is by non-violent resistance. We are convinced that ultimately that is the only alternative to force. But does anyone think that as a nation we are either able or willing to practise non-violent aggression?

Plainly we are not. And we have a government that represents the will of a majority of the nation. A government that proposed to the nation a policy of non-violent resistance would not last a week.

Personally I have regretted and condemned with my whole heart the general line of government policy in this country since 1920. I felt that all along it was preparing for disaster. And I have seen very few signs that the government leaders are really facing the ultimate issues now before the world. They seem to me to pursue a day-to-day policy, in which there is no hope at all.

But railing and abuse are not part of the technique of non-violent resistance. They do not make it any more likely that the Government will listen to such constructive proposals as we may have to make.

Surely our essential business as Pacifists is to convince more people of the truth of Pacifist teaching and of the efficacy of the Pacifist way of meeting violence. When we have succeeded in convincing a majority of the nation a national pacifist policy will become a possibility.

At present we remain a small minority. It may be natural to abuse the majority who disagree with us. But it is not good tactics. It is not real pacifism. Abuse does not lead to conviction any more than violence does. I want to convince my opponents—not to "knock spots off them" or to make them angry.

The only political action which I see open to us today is to join with that considerable body of non-pacifist peace lovers who are asking for a conference NOW—now, before the killing assumes terrible proportions—now, before war passions are fully roused.

In such action I join with my whole heart.

But when I approach the Government either by letter or by resolutions passed at meetings with the request that they should work for such a conference, I do not preface my requests with epithets of condemnation. That would seem to me the height of folly.

So it seems that there is real disagreement between me and some members of the Peace Pledge Union. None the less I do not propose to leave the PPU. We cannot be all of one mind about tactics. But we can differ WITHIN the fellowship of our Union. So I end by saluting my critics as fellow-workers in a great cause, and by wishing for them even greater enthusiasm.



JUSTICE: Am I, or brute force, to decide now?

CARTOON BY DENIS TEGETMEIER.

No Illusions

WESTBROOK PEGLER, New York columnist, commenting on Monday on the possibility of America entering the war, said:

"Let it be understood that if we must enter the war, we do so for practical reasons of our own, and that it is not for love, but for military and political convenience that we collaborate with an ally with heart notoriously too full of greed to have any room for nobility, generosity, honesty or friendship."

It is not necessary to accept this American's estimate of our country's heart to remark that it is worth noting just how others do see us, particularly when we flatter ourselves that America is only waiting for a suitable opportunity to spring to our sides as another "gallant Ally."

Civil Service Pacifists

So enthusiastic were those present at the inaugural meeting of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship held in the Peace Pledge Union office in Manchester last week that a branch was formed, and it is hoped that the foundation has been laid of a useful pacifist body in Manchester. Monthly meetings are contemplated. Date and place of the next meeting will be announced later.

MONTHLY COMMENTS

By Lord Ponsonby

WHEN the fresh reprint of *Falsehood in Wartime* was recently issued, I should have liked to include in it several additional instances which I had collected in my interleaved copy. But I refrained, because of the delay this would have involved.

I may perhaps quote here the actual wording of the official circular (page 20) which was issued and which I had not by me when the original edition was published. The wording is very revealing:

"Essential not literal truth and correctness are necessary. Inherent probability being respected, the thing imagined may be as serviceable as the thing seen."

Constant disparagement of the enemy is, of course, necessary with occasional references to incidents which cannot be checked. The poison of hate can thus be injected and will spread so as to stimulate "patriotism." It is depressing to think that in the mid-twentieth century, this should be the main work on which so many nations are engaged.

WHEN in our work optimism is so highly praised it may be considered almost indecent to say a word for the pessimist. But I am going to.

To begin with, when the pessimist is proved to be wrong he is naturally delighted. Whereas the optimist who may just as often be proved to be wrong must feel depressed.

But far more important than this: it is the pessimist who has refused to take the rosy view, who has been the mainspring of reforms and improvements. He has stoutly refused to be deluded in supposing that "all is for the best in the best possible of all worlds" or in ever being satisfied with his own efforts. So I think he has his place, however unpopular he may be.

MR. W. B. CURRY'S little book on *Federal Union* (Penguin) is extremely well written. A better reasoned indictment of the present system of international relations I have seldom read.

But it is no good for me when he comes to the constructive part with many quotations from Streit's book. My objections are not to the ultimate ideal which amounts to the Federation of the World, but to the methods and steps which his supporters of Federal Union advocate for its consummation.

1. I do not believe that a time when the disease from which nations are chiefly suffering is jealous and exaggerated notions with regard to their absolute sovereignty, is a favourable moment for launching this policy.

2. The initial step of federating the "democracies" would mean dividing the world into two ideological camps leading to endless controversy and more conflict.

3. The idea of a controlling Federal police force or army is, as I have repeatedly pointed out, simply impossible.

I HAVE also read *The Future of International Government* by Leonard Woolf.

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

Albert Schweitzer

Written in 1924.

AT the present time when violence, clothed in life, dominates the world more cruelly than it has ever before, I still remain convinced that truth, love, peaceableness, meekness, and kindness are the violence which can master all other violence. The world will be theirs as soon as ever a sufficient number of men with purity of heart, with strength, and with perseverance think and live out the thoughts of love and truth, of meekness and peaceableness.

All ordinary violence produces its own limitations, for it calls forth an answering violence which sooner or later becomes its equal or its superior. But kindness works simply and perseveringly; it produces no strained relations which prejudice its working; strained relations which already exist it relaxes. Mistrust and misunderstanding it puts to flight, and it strengthens itself by calling forth answering kindness. Hence it is the furthest-reaching and the most effective of all forces.

There is an unmeasured depth of truth in that strange saying of Jesus: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

—Memoirs of Childhood and Youth.

with whom in old days I often worked. There is no question about his ability as a writer.

But it was a bitter disappointment to find him ending up with a plea for Collective Security. He says: "The League system of collective security failed, not because it is unworkable, but because governments never attempted or wished to work it."

But that is precisely why it is unworkable. Beyond their delegate putting up his hand in the Assembly, the majority will never have any intention of working it. No. Any international body which may be established in the future will be bound to fail if its authority is based on Sanctions.

It was a relief to turn to *The Case for an Early Peace* recently issued by C. R. Buxton. It is carefully reasoned, unprovocative and judicial in tone. I hope it will have a wide circulation. In dealing with the near future, rather than plunging into distant Utopia, he shows his wisdom.

I MIGHT add a footnote to the Editor's interesting article of January 19, "Is Pacifism Suspect?" It would be to say that when Sir John Anderson used the words "its origin is at least suspect" he wished to convey the most damaging of all charges against it, namely, that it was financed by German money.

In the last "war to end war" I was "paid by the Kaiser" on more than one occasion. I never received the cheques but the false suspicion had some effect.

I must confess, however, that in those days it was not a member of the Government who demeaned himself to suggest what he knew quite well to be untrue.

The Editor's Point of View

DISCONTENT AND PEACE

IT is often suggested—particularly in relation to the enemy country—that discontent (presumably with the general state of war) opens the way to the making of peace. It is not generally recognized that such a discontent, to have that effect, must go so deep that even the possibility of foreign rule is not more dreaded than the continuance of the state of war.

For that possibility is a risk that obviously must be accepted if discontent (or anything but some kind of advantage over the enemy) is to make a Government sue for peace.

Actually, I believe it is only the barest possibility. Certainly I do not believe it is the inevitability that most of my countrymen apparently believe it to be.

The Way to Peace

I am convinced that the consequences of an attempt to make peace would be very largely determined by the way in which we went about that attempt. Especially so if the attempt were made now. Less so as time and the war are allowed to drag or race on, since the essential basis of a more or less calm atmosphere becomes more and more difficult to maintain or establish.

Indeed, the point of urging a peace conference now is to urge that the very fact of offering to negotiate as equals would go a long way toward establishing the necessary atmosphere, especially if accompanied by a frank and free confession of our share of responsibility for past errors that have led to the war; and also to urge that a sincere attempt to find a way of co-operating with other peoples, and a readiness, if need be, to make sacrifices to make this possible, is the best way to ensure a good peace.

BUT what sort of discontent could compel a Government to make that sort of offer? Obviously not a mere irritation over wartime inconveniences, however great.

Nor, it seems to me, could a discontent that would be removed by giving people bigger rations ever make a Government make that sort of offer. For even though I should hope that a world working in co-operation would fairly quickly meet the basic needs of all its people, that sort of discontent—legitimate enough in itself—is not the foundation on which could be built a policy containing willingness to sacrifice

The "Rights of Man" Are a Basis for Peace, Not War

says J. Middleton Murry

MR. H. G. WELLS, whose genius shows no sign of flagging, has been drawing up a declaration of fundamental human rights as a necessary basis of world-civilization and world-peace. The first declares, in substance, that no man may be imprisoned or punished without due process of law; and that no man may be subjected to torture. These rights, for so we may regard them, are openly repudiated in Germany and Russia; and perhaps in Italy and Spain also. It is horrible to think that they are repudiated.

But if it is implied, as Mr. Wells seems to imply, that our horror at the violation of these human rights by the Nazis is a sufficient reason for our being at war with Germany, we must reply that it does not follow. On the contrary, the hideous exaltation of the omnipotent State, of which these violations of what liberal-minded men regard as fundamental human rights are the direct outcome, is promoted by war. Under war-conditions civil rights, even in well-rooted democracies, stand under constant threat of abrogation.

Peace the only Chance

We cannot, and we shall not, re-establish the "rights of man" in Germany by making war against her. Only the Germans themselves can do that; and the only possibility of their doing so is that the psychological pressure of war-conditions shall be removed from them. That will not happen either by defeat or victory. The only chance is by way of peace.

But peace does not mean a mere rever-

sion to the conditions before the war, even if such a reversion were possible. Peace, if it is to bring Europe tolerable conditions of life at all, would have to be a new political creation, for the basic articles of which Mr. Wells's declarations might serve perfectly well.

Bases for Conference

That is their practical value. They could be put forward as the bases of a peace-conference now.

Simply because they are primarily concerned with the individual man, they are in fact much more realistic than the rearrangement of the map of Europe with which would-be peace-makers generally concern themselves. Let their articles be accepted, and it would not greatly matter whether Czechoslovakia became a sovereign State again. After all, the peace of the world calls for a diminution of national sovereignty, not an intensification of it.

Anyhow, pacifists can espouse Mr. Wells's declaration of human rights with a good conscience: not merely because the acknowledgment of these rights is part of their creed, but because the insistence on them helps to bring men's minds down from the world of perilous abstraction in which Britain and Germany become entities quite apart from the men and women who compose them. But if it is suggested that it is a moral duty to "crusade" on behalf of these rights, we must insist that the longer the "crusade" continues, the less is the chance of establishing them. They are among "the things that belong to peace."

as an essential part, and which in any case risks failure just as war does.

A Real Discontent

What does seem to me to be needed is a very profound discontent with the attitude of mind, the whole approach to life that seems to me to be the driving power that has made this war possible and that will, if the discontent is not great enough to end it for all practical purposes, make a bad peace—and probably new wars—absolutely certain.

I am not referring to the depressing theory that we shall always have wars while men retain individually the "original sin" from which they are alleged to suffer and until they all have a change of heart.

On the contrary, I believe Maurice Rowntree, in our last issue, put his finger on a fact of vital importance to the world at this time when he wrote of "the enormous strength, the spontaneous working of this urge to help" one's fellow-man, regardless of whether he happens to be one's "enemy."

It is discontent with all that is contrary to that urge that is needed today. Or, in creative and constructive terms, what is needed is a realization that that is the true human nature—the urge to express the "essential oneness with other human beings everywhere"—not the senseless competition between man and man and group and group of which fighting is but the extreme form.

NOR is anything of a spectacular nature necessarily called for.

Though ultimately—and probably sooner than anyone dreams of, once it gets going—an urge which has "enormous strength" and which embraces the whole of mankind is obviously going to have very far-reaching and great effects, the essential thing now is to get things moving in that direction at all.

And though it will, in due course and in the realm of political action, call for men and women of unusual qualifications and opportunities, the act of setting in motion that "new" urge as the driving power of our international (not to mention any other) relations is as near to the hand of the plainest plain man (provided he has control of his faculties!) as of the man who has the

Ignored and Overlooked

Both this need for a new approach and the fact that all who will can help to meet it—with the equipment they have already and in the places where they are—are not only ignored by the vast majority of people, but are overlooked by far too many who have renounced war.

On the one hand there is an apparent assumption that some sort of mass-wielded power is needed to overcome the "powers that be" and that we are "doing nothing" unless we are either gaining measurable power or wielding what we have.

On the other hand, there is an assumption that a refusal to take part in war can only be conscientious if the objector has a long record of more or less spectacular and concrete things he has actually contributed to a state of international affairs in which peace reigns.

FROM one side of the tribunal bench come questions which take for granted that peace means somehow preventing an evildoer from actually carrying out the evil he has set his hand to, and which aim at ascertaining the exact physical processes by which that is done, if not by war.

But from the other side, all too often, come pathetic attempts to magnify into world-shattering significance the usually (and naturally) few special acts of human solidarity which have happened to come to hand, and a tragic minimizing of the potentially "enormous strength" of the urge of which Maurice Rowntree wrote, which has so far perhaps only made itself rather dimly felt as a negative, but quite definite, conviction that war is quite inconsistent with it, but which is beginning to assert itself in a general attitude to human relations.

It is because conscription involves handing over the human person's freedom to a social order that is the denial of the "essential oneness with human beings everywhere" that it is a hindrance to peace. Yet it is not conscription itself that is the chief enemy of the peacemaker, but the notion, the mere assumption that it is natural for men to struggle with one another for the privilege of existence on this speck of dust called the Earth, rather than for men to help one another.

Humphrey S. Moore

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"What Is Use of Fighting?"

—DUTCH FOREIGN SECRETARY

"We hope that sane views and sensible guidance will soon cause a reaction in the world, so that the barriers which cripple our nation will be pulled down. In the first place, this is necessary so that we may understand each other's difficulties. How it should not be done the liquidation of the previous war has shown.

"Lack of understanding of what Europe should have done for Germany caused great and forceful reaction by such a vital nation, just as it would have caused it in any other nation.

"Have we not the right to wonder whether at last the time has arrived for a just and sensible regulation of the affairs of Europe? They say the time for peace has not yet come, but what is the use of fighting if both sides are fighting an enemy which cannot be destroyed in the long run? I think such words may be uttered at such a time in a neutral country that does not want the collapse of Central and Western Europe in poverty or Bolshevism.

"Europe still has to prove that it can order its affairs so that it can continue to contribute to civilization. If Holland can help nations to start negotiations she will do so, as she has already proved together with Belgium, but Holland does not want to push herself."

—M. van Kieffens, Dutch Foreign Secretary, on Thursday of last week.

BALLET TELLS THE TRUTH ABOUT WAR

ART survives in war-time under tremendous difficulties. Music, a solace to these days, is being admirably preserved under war conditions even though musicians are out of work by the hundred. To a lesser extent the art of ballet is surviving in its adopted home of London and through provincial towns by the Vic-Wells team of dancers.

To these has fallen the lot of presenting one of the most moving lessons of our day—that strife is inevitably the road to annihilation. It is the lesson of the Company's new ballet called "Dante Sonata," arranged by Frederick Ashton, to piano music by Liszt that has been finely orchestrated by Constant Lambert.

On the face of it the ballet is a study in dance movement of warring spirits. It is an interpretation of a work written by Liszt after he had been reading Dante's version of the infernal regions. Frederick Ashton claims nothing but an artistic effort but its tremendous topicality is obvious to any spectator.

In this ballet there is a group of figures in white in conflict with a group of black. Both, for all one knows, may be right, though the odds are clearly on the side of the white corps as far as nobility and presence go. The blacks are beastial and terrifying.

The contest is supremely dramatic. It is terrible and awesome. It brings to the fore cruelty, licentiousness, hate, and the other common attributes of war. In the end the leaders of white and black are crucified with exhaustion and are held aloft by their followers while they die. The moral is as clear as any could be.

Strange, is it not, that scarcely a critic of ballet managed to see such a meaning but appraised at length the novel balletic situations and the bold action of the work.

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HOW SOME OF THE 15,626 C.O.s ARE FARING

Resigned Job: More Protests Was Refused At Newcastle Exemption

A YOUNG MAN who had given up his employment on conscientious grounds was refused exemption from military service at a recent session of the Manchester Tribunal for conscientious objectors.

The chairman of the tribunal declared: "We think the applicant has nothing more than views. He has not got deep conscientious convictions."

Hitherto the fact that an applicant has given up his employment on conscientious grounds has been favourably received by local tribunals.

The applicant, Leonard Mayoh, declared that as a Christian he believed war was contrary to the mind of Christ and was sinful. He added that he had resigned his work at a Bolton leather tannery, as he had a conscientious objection to working on leather destined for military purposes.

He also refused to serve in a non-combatant unit.

The Rev. Hugh M. Brooks, of whose Methodist church the applicant was a member, confirmed that he had given up his employment, at which he was earning £4 5s. a week, because of his conscience. The Minister added that, though he himself was an Army Chaplain on reserve, he had a great deal of sympathy for Mr. Mayoh.

LOCAL DECISIONS

IN the following analysis of local tribunals' decisions. A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service.

MIDLAND

At Birmingham, January 22—24

A ..	1	C ..	4
B ..	68	D ..	15
Total ..	88		

(Ten cases adjourned)

Our observers comment:

"A new type of question was put to a good many of the men: 'Would you face punishment rather than fight?' or 'Supposing the tribunal gave what you thought a wrong decision, and you were put into the Army, would you go to prison rather than fight?'"

"Usually there was a clear 'Yes' in answer, but one wondered whether this questioner was occasioned by the fact that some men are now being arrested because of non-recognition of their conscientious objection by the tribunals.

"The Ministry of Labour representative was officious in asking questions of the applicants in a hostile manner."

SOUTH-WESTERN

At Bristol, January 23, 25 and 26.

A ..	20	C ..	9
B ..	30	D ..	2
Total ..	61		

Our observer comments:

"A few cases were adjourned until February, the applicants being instructed to send in testimonials."

"In the afternoon there were a few men from the Oxford Colleges. Most of these cases were very ably presented, and well supported by letters."

"It was recognized by the chairman that some men feared that they would lose unemployment benefit if they refused to do work that is against their convictions. He said: 'It ought to be known that this is not so. The umpires have ruled that a conscientious objection to undertaking work, if honestly held, is a just cause for refusing that employment, and the Ministry give effect to that ruling.'"

"An interesting case was that of Mr. E. R. Tanner, who said that he could not recognize countries as having boundaries.

"The chairman: 'Therefore it makes no difference whether the Finns retain their independence or are absorbed in Russia?'"

"That's right," was the reply.

"The chairman: 'Or England being absorbed or over-run by Germany?'"

"Tanner replied that he considered every political system fundamentally the same.

"Mr. Tanner, who belonged to no organization, was given unconditional exemption."

NORTH-EASTERN

At Leeds, January 22.

A ..	1	C ..	5
B ..	3	D ..	4
Total ..	13		

NORTHUMBERLAND & DURHAM

At Newcastle, January 25 & 26

A ..	6	C ..	8
B ..	26	D ..	6
Total ..	46		

(One case withdrawn)

The decisions of this tribunal published in our last issue were inadvertently given under the heading "North-Eastern." The North-Eastern tribunal sits at Leeds.

PROTESTS continue against the attitude of the Northumberland and Durham tribunal for conscientious objectors, sitting at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Preachers are now beginning to refer to the tribunal in their sermons.

On Friday a loud murmur of protest and ironical cheers greeted a remark by the chairman, Judge Richardson, to an applicant: "Judging from the magnificent record of your family I should think you would hardly want to be branded as a conscientious objector."

Those concerned at the treatment of objectors at this tribunal are asked to communicate with Denis Hayes, 29 Coquet Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Co-ordinating Secretary of the advisory bureaux for COs in that area.

Manchester Tribunal Criticized

A correspondent who was the first in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* to congratulate the North-Western Tribunal upon the spirit in which it began its work in November, has now written in the same paper regretting the very different attitude which the tribunal has now adopted. He writes:

"Of 186 Manchester cases in November, 22 per cent were registered as conscientious objectors; then the percentages were at Preston 21 per cent, at Liverpool 24 per cent, and at Manchester (in December) 22 per cent. Now, of about 140 cases decided in Manchester this month, only 11 per cent have been so registered. On the other hand, in the first sessions at Manchester, Preston, and Liverpool the proportion transferred to the military register for non-combatant duties was 11 per cent, 13 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. Yet as many as 21 per cent of the Manchester cases heard this month have been struck off the register of conscientious objectors and ordered non-combatant military service. If, as I think, you were right in praising the earlier conduct of the tribunal, it is also right that this serious deterioration should now be noted."

Future Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors (dates are inclusive):

SOUTH-WESTERN

In Bristol, February 5, 21-24, 26-29; March 12-14, 27-29.

NORTH-WESTERN

In Manchester today (9.45 a.m.).

NORTH-EASTERN

In County Court, Albion Place, Leeds, 1, on February 6 (10.15 a.m.).

LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).

SOUTH-EASTERN

In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.).

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

★

Today (Friday)

The following test tribunals for conscientious objectors will be held next week:

BOW: 7.30 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Powis Road; Mock Tribunal; PPU and East End Pacifist Council.

Wednesday, February 7

POTTERS BAR: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Darnes Lane; Congregational YPDG and PPU.

Sunday, February 11

EWELL, Surrey: 7 p.m. Church Road, London Road; applicants invited; names to J. E. Beams, 4 Cottage Road, West Ewell, Surrey.

WOMEN'S PEACE CALL ANSWERS CHURCHILL

THE plans for a national demonstration by women on February 17 have received widespread support and on that day women will have an opportunity of bearing witness to their pacifist faith. On that day people all over the country will see women silently marching with posters and banners demanding immediate negotiations for a just peace.

And this is only the beginning of the work of the Women's Peace Campaign. Women have a great responsibility; their part is no longer only to remain at home, only to look after husband and children; their struggle for emancipation and the rights of citizenship has brought women to the side of men on equal terms and so they are asked now to assist in the prosecution of war.

"Negotiation Now"

We are fighting, so we are told, for peace. There is only one hope for a just and generous peace, and that is to seek for negotiation before long years of suffering and degradation have created conditions in which peace terms will be dictated and not negotiated.

"Negotiation now" is the slogan of the Women's Peace Campaign, and it is the job of those who believe in it to bring it into every home in Great Britain. To tell the women who do not know, to educate those who are ignorant of the real issues, that is the work to which we have set our hand, and we must not relax our efforts for one moment.

Churchill is asking for a million women and more to make munitions for continuing the war. The Women's Peace Campaign is asking for a million women and more to join in the demand for peace negotiations NOW.

SYBIL MORRISON

Headquarters of Women's Peace Campaign are: 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

War-time House Building in Germany

It is stated in the latest number of the Bulletin of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning that a meeting of the German Academy for the study of Building was held at Nurnberg in October last, when Ministerialist Professor Dr. Schmidt, Departmental Director in the Ministry of Labour, discussed the building of dwelling houses during the war.

He explained that the Government had no intention of either stopping or throttling housing activities. The Minister of Labour had even ordered the speedy completion of 220,000 dwellings, together with special facilities for the supply of materials. An excellent example to our own Government.—Extract from *The Builder*, January 26, 1940.

WEST LONDON RALLY FOR PEACE
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Saturday and Sunday, 2nd and 3rd March At the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, London
Easter: 22nd-25th March ... At Basque House, Langham, Colchester
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Whitsun: 11th-13th May ... At Basque House, Langham, Colchester

Full particulars shortly available from Walter Griffith, Secretary
The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, London, W.1.

BOOKS

Three Modern Caesars

The Craft of the Propagandist

Between the Lines, or How to Read a Newspaper. Denys Thompson. Muller. 3s. 6d.

TO the reader who relies upon one regular newspaper only for his daily news sustenance this book will be an eye-opener. Its revelations are familiar enough to the journalist, the advertising man and the critical reader of the daily Press as a whole, but they will come as a powerful disillusionment to the man-in-the-street, who, though he will assert that he does not believe "all that you read in the papers," has no idea of the frequency and extent of the distortion that goes on.

This is a study-manual rather than a thesis. It is very brightly written, contains chapter and verse for every argument, and by interrogation at frequent intervals compels the reader to consider for himself the evidence produced. The devices of propaganda are exposed, and the unseen forces behind the Press revealed.

The author, who is a pacifist, provides at the end a "case-book" of typical pieces of propaganda, and a very useful bibliography, the reading-through of which would, I should unhesitatingly say, render any intelligent reader immune to at least the grosser forms of Press and advertising rascality.

Another standard help in this direction, *Falsehood in War-time*. Lord Ponsonby (Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.) enters this month on its eighth impression.

The publishers are to be congratulated on keeping this remarkable study of war-time distortion in print. The book has long been on the selling list of the PPU, and it is to be hoped that pacifists who have not read it yet, or have not presented it to friends as first-class propaganda, will make an effort to justify the publishers' confidence.

Every notable prevarication of the Great War, and a great many minor, but nonetheless dangerous, concoctions are traced to their source. Reading them after a lapse of two decades, and recalling the performance of the contemporary Press, one can only reflect that while the technique of warfare on land, sea and air may have changed, the propaganda war remains much the same.

Except in one important particular; the development of radio and Government control of broadcasting. If Lord Ponsonby should be spared to bring his researches up to date at the conclusion of the Second Great War, he should certainly be able to make an interesting chapter out of the ether-borne inventions of Lord Haw-Haw, Dr. Goebbels and their Allied counterparts.

Meanwhile, his book remains an authoritative record that is amusing, astonishing, appalling and salutary.

ANDREW STEWART

The Case for an Armistice

The Case for an Early Peace. Charles Roden Buxton. Friends' Peace Committee. 2d. (Obtainable from PPU Headquarters.)

THIS is a short, strongly argued plea for the seizure of the present uneasy stage of hostilities to call an armistice and attempt by conference to achieve a secure peace. Mr. Buxton directs his plea particularly to those who believe that if we made peace now it would afford us no security against future aggression by Germany, and so are reconciled to the inevitability of "war to the bitter end."

He challenges them to show:

- that a secure peace is not possible at an early date; and
- that a secure peace, or at least a better peace than is now attainable, could be attained at the end of (say) three years of war.

He clearly demonstrates:

- that the probability of attaining a reasonably secure peace at an early date is so great that an attempt should be made to attain it; and
- that the settlement after (say) three years of war, whichever side was the victor, would be a worse settlement than could be obtained now.

The Three Dictators. By Frank Owen. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

POSTERITY alone will be able to pass the final verdict upon the three figures who monopolize so much of the world stage today.

To us, as Frank Owen admits, "the Big Fellows have sometimes seemed gigantic." Reading this book, one is able to see them in better perspective, each one against his own personal background and in relation to the forces which helped him to power. All this, of course, has been done before by dozens of biographers, but it has been left to Mr. Owen to compress the relevant facts within one volume in so readable a form.

Despite the great differences between the circumstances attending the rise to power of Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler, in each case the story is one of a man who started life as a "nobody"; who lived among the outcasts of society; and who rose to a position where the maintenance of his own power became his dominant consideration.

Mussolini, Socialist!

Such a record inevitably brings to light the inconsistencies in their views which the dictators themselves would doubtless prefer to remain forgotten. Who, for instance, wrote this?

"Militarism is in us, in our habits. It is we who fatten the evil beast when, with stupid resignation, we pay the taxes destined to its maintenance; it is the sons of the proletariat who populate the barracks; it is our powerlessness that fortifies jingo patriotism. There is indeed an infallible means of destroying from its foundation the infamous militarist constraint; DESERTION!"

No, not Stalin, but Mussolini! The same Mussolini who declared:

"If there should ever again appear in Europe a crazy megalomaniac the proletariat would no longer lend itself as a docile herd to holocaust. We are ready to set against the armies on the march the General Strike, beginner of the Social Revolution!"

And the same socialist Mussolini who denounced the disastrous Italian attempt to conquer Abyssinia in 1896 (which he later conquered); who poured personal abuse upon King Victor Emmanuel and attacked the Church (with both of which he has since found it necessary to co-operate).

After that it is hardly surprising that he started by opposing the Great War and four days later threw in his lot with the Allies.

How They Did It

There was a certain consistency amid this inconsistency. Here is Mussolini's way to power, analysed by Frank Owen:

- (i) Proclaim a violently radical policy;
- (ii) Denounce the moderate Left for its cowardice;
- (iii) Persuade or coerce the moderate Right into believing that you alone can handle the Red menace;
- (iv) In power, smash Right, Left and Centre.

The same path was later followed by Hitler, with equal success.

The case of Stalin is, of course, somewhat different, for he succeeded his master, Lenin. But he, too, showed himself adept at playing off one dangerous rival against another in order to consolidate his power over both.

Nor can it be said that he has attempted to adhere faithfully to the principles of the man he at one time followed "like a dog." Thus Mr. Owen tells how, "instead of Lenin's idea of a democratic election of officials came fossilized civil service. The Dictatorship of the Secretariat."

Our Responsibility

Again... "Lenin had said often 'We were wrong. Let us learn by our mistakes.' Stalin insisted 'I was right, always.' The world knows what fate overtook old comrades who didn't realize times had changed.

Of the three dictators, as men, Stalin emerges from this book as the most remarkable. Mr. Owen describes "his really immense quality... his truly terrific inner strength; he can take anything"; how he "will suffer blows, wounds, indignities, hunger, poverty, obscurity, hate and flattery to gain his ends. He simply bides his time. Vengeance! There is nothing sweeter on earth. But all in due season!"

What of the future of the three modern Caesars? Mr. Owen does little prophesying, and some of it is already out of date now that Russia has carried power-politics to the point of aggression. But this comment on the past is certainly a warning for the future:

"... members of the 'fat' democracies cannot escape responsibility either today or tomorrow. The will-to-power of these three dictators triumphed because the will-to-resistance of their countrymen had been sapped or broken by appalling misfortunes, some of them inflicted wantonly and stupidly in our name. The dictators are not the primary cause of their countries' present misery. They themselves are the products of this misery."

"Today, one of them has broken loose, herding the world again into another futile, bloody mill. We blame him, and we brand him. But when it's all over let us have the brains and the courage not to leave after him one more seed-bed of despair and hate in the heart of Europe."

J. W. COWLING

International "Hook-up"

The Phantom Broadcast. James Avery Joyce. Peace Book Co. 6d.

AFTER reading this 32-page pamphlet, one wonders why, indeed, couldn't Mr. Chamberlain, in one of his big speeches have said all it has to say? Probably because foresight is not strikingly one of his characteristics. But foresight this phantom Premier certainly has, the foresight of the intelligent capitalist statesman who realizes that if the old order he stands for is not to crash in ruins round his ears he must facilitate the transition to a different society by wise concessions.

Starting with "the overthrow of Hitlerism" as the crucial issue, the phantom Premier calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the setting up of a Board of Arbitrators to adjudicate on the merits of the dispute. He then outlines a programme of national reconstruction and a long-term plan for international co-operation, and concludes with a peroration that would do credit even to Mr. Chamberlain's present "ghost." Specific suggestions for international appeasement he makes are:

- (1) Restoration to a rational degree of autonomy, within a federal order, of former Polish, Czech and Slovak nationals;
- (2) Economic co-operation on a world-wide scale to improve standards of living and effect international planning of raw materials;
- (3) Complete reorganization of colonial policy; Drastic all-round disarmament;
- (4) Development of international government within a federal constitution.

It is safe to say that if any leading statesman made a gesture of this kind hopes would run high for the salvation of civilization from the abyss lying clearly ahead of it. The phantom Premier's debt to Federal Union is unconcealed.

THE GERMAN SCENE

Inside Germany. Oswald Garrison Villard. Constable. 2s. 6d. (Cloth, 3s. 6d.)

IN November the author, who is a distinguished American journalist, a former editor of the New York Nation, returned from a visit to Germany and Czechoslovakia and wrote his impressions for the *Daily Telegraph*. They attracted very wide interest, for this acute and liberal observer, who has been "at home" in Germany all his life and was afforded every facility by the Nazi Government, had many penetrating things to say. It was unworthy that they should be allowed to pass into obscurity in a newspaper file. They have now been collected in one volume, together with several other relevant writings.

Readers of *Peace News* will be particularly struck with Mr. Villard's up-to-the-minute corroboration of the political trend in Germany anticipated in our columns by Wilfred Wellock some time ago: Germany is going steadily Communist under Hitler. The Russians and the Germany of the Nazis should and will come together. Economists have long pointed out that the twilight zone between these two totalitarian systems was steadily decreasing... I did not find a single important business man, banker or economist who was not of the opinion that the Communization of Germany is inevitable as long as Hitler remains in power... It is the realization of these dangers... that makes the German business men the most ardent advocates of an early peace to be found in Germany...

Pamphlets of this quality would be welcomed weekly by all who desire to keep abreast of these hectically moving times, even though their authors may see the war in the light of a Crusade.

ALL IN A MAZE

Keeping up one's Spirits

THE Prime Minister addressed a mass meeting at a National Government rally in the grounds of Boughton House, Kettering, the home of the Duke of Buccleuch, on Saturday night. The Duke of Buccleuch presided and several Midland MPs were on the platform.

Mr. Chamberlain, who declared that at no time in his life had he enjoyed better health and better spirits, said: "... When I look round the world I must say I am appalled at the prospects. War, accompanied by horrible barbarities, inflicted either wittingly or unwittingly upon civilian populations is going on today in China and much nearer to us in Spain. Almost every week we hear rumours of war on this question or on that in other parts of the world, and all the principal nations are spending their previous savings on devising and manufacturing the most efficient instruments for the destruction of one another. I wonder whether, since the world began, has it ever seen such a spectacle of human madness and folly?"

—The Times, July 4th, 1938.

So A God

I THINK war wrong. I also think it silly. Sometimes a comedian in a theatre will do something so divinely irresponsible, so completely and gorgeously silly, that one sinks back into one's seat in helpless laughter. A few minutes later he does it again... then again... and again. Gradually one ceases to laugh. So a god, to whom the death of a man was no more than to man the death of a fly, must once have laughed uproariously at man's invention of war... and grown weary of laughing... and then wished that the absurd little creatures would hit upon something else as gorgeously comic.

I think war silly. I think that war is the ultimate expression of man's wickedness and man's silliness. There are times when I think that its childish silliness is even more heart-breaking than its wickedness.

—A. A. Milne, *Peace with Honour*. 1934.

The above are extracts from the *Peace and War* anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

If One Country Disarmed

"Switzerland wants no war" affirmed the proprietor. "She has seen too much of strife and suffering in the past and, though you might not think it, the memory endures with our people. If one country would disarm so completely that when it was invaded there was no fighting at all, the invader would be the laughing-stock of the world. No country can annexe another country in these days, it is economically and socially impossible."

"There is nothing new in the idea of one country being morally strong enough to disarm completely regardless of its neighbours but the question is: Who will set the example? It was a theory I heard many times from people of different nationalities. No one wants war in Europe."

—From *An Alpine Journey* (published in 1934), by F. S. Smythe.

Glasgow No Conscription Meeting

The last meeting of the Gorbals and Hutcheson group of the No Conscription League was addressed by Mr. Bill Taylor on the attitude of the tribunals to COs. His address was immediately followed by a Mock Tribunal.

Group meetings will be held every Friday at 7.30 p.m. in the ILP Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road, Glasgow.

More Libraries Show "Peace News"

Copies of *Peace News* have now been included in the Library Reading Room at Swindon, and in the Eccles and District Co-operative Society's Reading Room (three copies).

This brings the total number of libraries and reading rooms showing the paper to 428.

At a sub-regional conference organized by the Oldham branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation recently, a searching address on "The Christian Pacifist message in the Church" was given by the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps. Four study groups were formed, and their findings were later reported to the gathering. Mr. Phelps finally summed up the conclusions reached.

Positive Pacifism

MEMBERS of the Labour Party, the No Conscription League, and individuals of no allegiances, with whom I have been in conversation, appear to be unaware of any positive element in Pacifism, or fail to credit pacifists with any real understanding of the economic and social problems underlying the present situation.

It behoves us then, as pacifists, in all our contacts with people of progressive outlook, in public meeting and private discussion, to clarify our attitude in this way. War itself is a state of rivalry between nations, which has always existed under Capitalism, and which has been increasing in tension since 1918. Its causes are economic, and its only cure is a new world economic order. On the other hand, the use of armed force, for defence or attack, is a periodic feature of such a state of rivalry, and its basis is a human one. The only way to abolish fighting, invasion and blockade, is by a new social discipline; a new awareness of our fellowmen as creatures similar to ourselves, and to whom we have a human responsibility.

A new economic order, then, is the objective; a new sense of human responsibility, the means to that end. In current terminology, Socialists will establish a new system on a secure and lasting foundation, only by abandoning the Capitalist method of armed force, with all that it involves, and adopting the Pacifist technique, called Non-Violence.

CYRIL F. WRIGHT.

19 Onslow Road, New Malden, Surrey.

The "Under Twenties"

Pacifist literature consists of two types—the closely-reasoned argument, and the essay deploring the tragedy of war. Such propaganda may appeal to older men and women, or to the semi-converted, but it is not likely to interest young people of eighteen or nineteen who know nothing about pacifism whatsoever.

What then is to be done to attract the "under-twenties" of today to pacifism? We will not do so by merely substituting pacifist for militaristic heroics, and talking grandly about 'brave new worlds.' That can come later. But to gain the first interest of the "under-twenties" we must show them, not that war is pitiful—for that implies giving war a certain dignity which it does not deserve—but that it is the most uproarious farce that has ever been perpetrated on this earth.

If we can make the young men and women of today see the farcical side of war—if we can make them appreciate just how ridiculous it really is—then we have taken the first important step towards converting them to pacifism.

I therefore presume to suggest to our great pacifist writers that they produce books calculated to gain the interest of the "under-twenties"—books of the 1066 and All That type—giving every so-called "great" war that has ever been fought.

I also suggest to all other pacifists that they try this method of approach with any "under-twenties" they happen to know. I speak from my own experience when I say that the first seeds of pacifism will thus be sown.

ALEXANDER SCOTT,

55 Cattofield Place, Aberdeen, Scotland.

Self-Forgiveness

Perhaps I had better point out, if only for Mr. Reynolds's benefit, that I was not, in my article in your issue of January 19, asking people to "forgive themselves" in order the better to shelve their responsibilities for the condition of the world; but that I was asking them to understand that only when they have made an act of inward self-forgiveness will they be in a fit state to forgive others, and so shoulder for themselves responsibilities which they at present delegate. This is perhaps an unfamiliar point of view, but I believe it to be a significant one, and one that we ought to consider.

I think Mr. Reynolds and I are quite in agreement that Nature and Nemesis will not allow us to tear up our bills indefinitely, and that this war is partly the result of past attempts to do so. Perhaps Mr. Reynolds would have found simpler ways than mine of saying this, and so, unlike me, have avoided the necessity for learning to suffer fools gladly—except, of course, in that sense of an "inward self-forgiveness."

R. H. WARD.

10 Abbey Gardens, N.W.8.

"THE BRITISH CASE"

I read recently a small Government propaganda book by Lord Lloyd, *The British Case*, which contains a preface by Lord Halifax. On page 50 one finds the very remarkable view put forward, that it really did not matter whether Hitler's proposals to Poland were reasonable or unreasonable; what did matter was the rude, peremptory way in which he made them!

It would seem, therefore, that the real purpose of the war was not to protect Poland from injustice but to improve Hitler's manners!

There are certainly indications that Lord Lloyd's view was shared by the British Government. It would certainly seem that the British Government had made up its mind that it and

If this war continues until Great Britain and France obtain a military victory over Germany, it is certain that the sufferings of all the peoples will be so acute, the death-roll from both economic and active warfare will be so stupendous, and the resulting hatreds will be so intense, that it will be impossible to achieve a Christian and just settlement, and, therefore, war will again be likely within twenty years of the conclusion of the present struggle, as was the case after the Versailles Treaty.

It is reasonable, therefore, for those who wish their children to have a chance to

Points from Letters

MR. CHURCHILL'S "BAITS"

It is a great pity that Mr. Churchill cannot be persuaded by some benevolent friend to keep off the radio and the public platform. His utterances, both in substance and tone, are so provocative that they usually entail an addition to the sad list of "dead or missing," and I am certain that no human mind benefits by them.

GUY FANANI, 20, St. Michael's Road, Welling, Kent.

INDIA

Miss Agatha Harrison has very properly reminded members of the PPU—in last week's *Peace News*—of the moral and political obligations of the British Imperial Government towards India, and I take it that pacifists generally are in favour of granting Indians the democratic right of self-determination.

May I remind PPU members that we cannot very well avoid a similar problem nearer home? I refer to the growing agitation for self-government for Wales.

GWILYM R. JONES, Denbigh.

TOC H AND WAR

I have had more than thirty replies to my letter on this subject, almost all of which express complete agreement with the ideas which I expressed. Most of these letters call for direct replies and in addition many suggest correspondence with others who should be interested. In view of all this, I trust that my correspondents will accept this acknowledgment and bear with me if they do not hear quite as quickly as they would like. In the meantime, I shall still be pleased to hear from members of Toc H who feel that in supporting war it is not being true to its principles as expressed in the Main Resolution and the Points of the Compass.

CYRIL WELLINGTON, 12 The Avenue, Highams Park, E.4.

CHRISTMAS BOOK LIST

Included amongst other books recommended as suitable for presents I notice *The Conquest of Violence* by Bart de Ligt, at 7s. 6d., but it may be useful for some to know that this valuable work can now be had for 3s. 6d. from the Peace Pledge Union. Many who either would not or could not pay 7s. 6d., would purchase at 3s. 6d., and the book is most valuable for assessing the implications of the economic and political system prevailing here.

J. PAGE, Thelodore, Peterchurch, Herefordshire.

"PEN FRIENDS"

I should be very glad if any of your readers would help in the unexciting task of befriending—through the post—friendly inmates of Public Assistance Institutions ("Workhouses").

"Pen Friends" undertake only two obligations—to write to their adopted friend at very least once a month, and to let me know if they cease to do so.

I should especially welcome offers to organize "Pen Friends" for Institutions outside London. So far, very few other Counties are served. I should be happy to co-operate in every possible way.

(Miss) M. A. PRATT, Hon. Sec., Pen Friends' Guild, 241 Salmon Street, Kingsbury, N.W.9.

POLITICAL DICTIONARY

For those who, like myself, find considerable difficulty in keeping before them the main issues and complications of international affairs in order that they might hold in reasonable and fair perspective the challenge to their belief, I would highly commend *The Penguin Political Dictionary*. Of adverse criticism I have found little cause, yet I do not think a narrow prejudice suggests a serious omission of the PPU (even under Pacifism) from a record of consequential influences, but the author and publishers invite suggestions.

J. K. INGRAM, 29 Empress Drive, Chislehurst, Kent.

TAVISTOCK,

Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A People's Peace

grow up in a world freed from the danger of war, to desire a Peoples' Peace rather than a military victory. The sooner a peace of this nature is brought about, the less suffering will have resulted from this war, and the less hatred there will be to hinder the building of a lasting peace.

The Peace Settlement must be based, not on the power-lust or financial interests of the political or economic rulers of the nations, but on the simple human interests of the peoples themselves.

It seems to me that a peoples' settlement can be achieved only if:

1. Imperialism is ended all over the world and all nations enjoy self-determination.
2. Markets and raw materials are made available to all nations on equal terms so that world trade competition is rejected in favour of world service.
3. The peoples of all nations enjoy a rising standard of living.
4. Conscription is ended in all countries.
5. There is world disarmament.

The first and second of these conditions would serve as British, French, American, and Russian guarantees of good faith, while the fourth and fifth conditions would be the guarantees of Germany, Japan, and Italy.

SYDNEY GEORGE CONBEER.

113 Summerfield Crescent, Birmingham, 16.

I feel that the only thing that matters is to stop the war at the earliest possible moment, and that the Peace Pledge Union should lead a campaign with the co-operation of other national bodies.

The terrific expense of over six million pounds per day will destroy all our social services for a long time unless we can give a bold lead in this matter. On the positive side we should press for Peace by Negotiations and the calling of a World Peace and Economic Conference to discuss:

1. The liberation of subject people from imperialism, whether German, British or French;
2. Recognition that the national sovereignty of peoples must be subject to international unity;
3. Recognition that the natural resources of the world are adequate to meet the needs of all the peoples and the Establishment of International Economic arrangements whereby supplies of all essential commodities shall be distributed according to the needs on the basis of use and not profit.

JOHN BALLINGER.

41 Copthall Road, Hendon, Birmingham.

"Peace News" and the P.P.U.

I very much regret to see that a Kensington reader who did not agree with Dr. Herbert Gray's recent article wrote saying that if any more of these "pitiful articles" appeared he would not think it worth while selling *Peace News*. Recently too a group sent back copies because of an article which they contained.

Surely the friends who rush to such threats and actions have a wrong conception of the position of *Peace News* and of the nature of the Peace Pledge Union, a failing which unfortunately is noticeable even amongst the members of the National Council.

Are not these the facts?

The PPU is nothing more nor less than an association of people who have taken the pledge "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another." It has no other basis—not even the proposed affirmations—and nothing more can be required of its members than that they should carry out the obvious and plain wording of that pledge. No one, moreover, has the right to read into it any subtle implications. It does not necessarily involve any theory of non-violence or even an alternative constructive or active programme.

Peace News as the official organ of such a movement cannot do other than provide an open forum for its members, where they can say why they took the pledge and what it involves for them in the hope that what they write may be of help and encouragement to their fellow-members. Of course, there will be different points of view. I, personally, disagree with about ninety per cent of the "Speaking Personally" articles, but I shall only refuse to sell the paper, or feel that it is not worth the money, when it ceases to be a free medium for the discussion of relevant matter or when it prints articles which contradict the pledge.

RENDALL DAVIES.

The Green House, 54 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
Further letters welcoming Dr. Gray's article have been received, as well as some criticizing it, to which Dr. Gray replies on page 5.—Ed.

The "Absolute Pacifist"

I FEEL that the following extracts from Middleton Murry's *The Necessity of Pacifism* may, with advantage, be given publicity within our movement at the present time:—

"By an absolute Pacifist we understand a man who is committed to an attitude of non-violent resistance to the capitalist state in time of war."

"The mere avoidance, on conscientious scruples, of participation in actual warfare is not Pacifism in this sense. In waging war, the integrated society of Capitalism is totally engaged in war; and those who exchange a place in the ranks of the combatants for some 'work of national importance' behind the lines are taking part in warfare just as effectively as they would be if they were firing high explosives at the enemy."

"Whether or not he is a Socialist, it is a matter of simple intellectual honesty that the Pacifist should understand that the implication of a capitalist society in war is now total... In this situation the distinction hitherto drawn by conscientious scruple between combatant and non-combatant service is purely illusory. The Pacifist who takes refuge in it will be revealed as a fool or a knave."

"... The totalitarian state of capitalist democracy will need, for the prosecution of the war, the services of far more non-combatants than soldiers in the fighting line. And the Pacifist whose Pacifism is limited to declining active military service will be just as effective a combatant as the soldier. Therefore, the state will willingly recognize and license this Pacifism."

"The only possible position for a Pacifist, who is neither ignorant nor hypocritical, is one of resolute non-co-operation with the state in time of war. He is bound to refuse his service in any civilian capacity; and he is equally bound to refuse to pay all taxes demanded of him for the prosecution of the war. Thus he deliberately outlaws himself from society."

There can be no doubt of the revolutionary implication of such an attitude. The Pacifist, moreover, desires and endeavours that this attitude of his shall become universal. If a Pacifist movement of this kind were successful, it would paralyse the activities of the state as a belligerent. And that is what the Pacifist ultimately seeks to accomplish. Without that final aim clearly in view, a Pacifist movement becomes one of irresponsible individualism. The Pacifist must be prepared to accept the responsibility and the penalty for this final aim."

S. W. RANDOLPH.

56 The Main Way, Chorley Wood, Herts.

Why?

May I ask your kind permission to use the columns of *Peace News* to inquire whether any readers can inform me of reasons why I should fight in this war. In this connexion I must explain that as a Pacifist who moves in Pacifist circles, I believe it is possible that I have become biased and narrow. I am therefore anxious to have the other side explained to me by those who can speak with conviction, so that I may give sincere consideration to their statements. I am very willing to be convinced by non-pacifists.

G. E. ROBERTS.

Flat 2, 3, Burston Road, Putney, S.W.15.

Your Warden Needs YOU

From information received I have proceeded to sundry ARP posts to find a couple of very bored wardens waiting for alarms which never materialize. They are very pleased to have any sort of visitors, and really keen on anyone who can give them something to think of! Take your hat and your best propagandizing smile to the nearest ARP post immediately.

STANLEY O. JONES

"Ellerlie" Community, Sully Road, Penarth.

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100% Members Peace Pledge Union.

The Third Conference of C.O.s and ABSOLUTISTS OF THE GREAT WAR

will take place at the

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB

Binney St., Oxford St. (2 mins. from Selfridges)

THIS SATURDAY, FEB. 3rd at 2.45 p.m.

The Speaker at the Second Session 5—7 p.m. will be

A CREECH JONES, M.P.

Tea Interval at 4.15 p.m.

To Regional Secretaries

YOU, and the Chairman of your Region, are invited to a preliminary conference to discuss better co-ordination of regions within the London Area to be held on Tuesday, February 13, at 6 p.m. (before the usual members' meeting) at Dick Sheppard Club, King's Weigh House, Binney Street (late Thomas Street), Oxford Street, opposite Selfridge's. Light refreshments can be had at the club before or after the conference. Please see that your region is represented at this important first meeting.

JOHN BARCLAY (Convener).

Mr. Lansbury and the Nobel Prize

IT has been suggested that Peace Pledge Union groups should support the nomination of Mr. George Lansbury for the Nobel Peace Prize by sending letters or resolutions direct to: Nobel Committee of the Storting, Oslo.

P.P.U. Council Meeting

In our report last week of the meeting of the PPU National Council we said that Mary Gamble was one of those who would meet the group of Chelsea members whose views had been discussed by the Council. Her name appeared by mistake instead of Mrs. Nancy Richardson.

"If I Were Dictator"

The Peace Pledge Union will be able to secure copies of Dick Sheppard's book, *If I Were Dictator*, published at 2s. 6d., for 1s., if there is sufficient demand. Group leaders are asked to inform Alan Staniland at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, if they would like copies at this price.

BUILDING THE FRAMEWORK

By John Barclay

TIME is my greatest enemy. Try as I will, it seems impossible to fit in the dozens of visits to groups that I have on the waiting list.

Even by the method of central meetings, I have little opportunity to get that personal contact which makes all the difference to my work. It is impossible to understand local conditions unless one has discussed them on the spot with the active members. Every district has its own particular colour and although all have much in common, I believe a real unity will only be possible when the detailed map is seen as a whole.

For instance, there are the distinctly blue areas where Colonel Blimp still holds sway and where the Squire and the Vicar set the pace. The current of reaction is strong in such places and the PPU group is for ever swimming against the tide and needs constant food and inspiration.

Difficult as the work of such a group is, it is perhaps less agonising than what may be called the red area where the kaleidoscopic background of the political "left" constantly shifts the emphasis and yet attempts to give a pacifist appeal by shouting "Stop the war."

Yet another colour—this time grey—denotes the apathetic country of a semi-rural nature where residential areas are thoroughly "snobbish." Although apathy

is a word that is often used, it seldom bears close inspection, for apathy is a mask and beneath it lies an awareness which only needs galvanizing to become coherent.

It is my experience, from innumerable conversations on railway platforms and in trains, that never was there such a genuine interest in anti-war and pacifist philosophy. If only we can continue to have complete faith in our message and can keep the vision clear in front of us we shall permeate still further into the public conscience. New groups need help from those already established and old groups which are feeling the strain and "wear and tear" must be re-vitalized by fresh inspiration from the centre.

As we weave the web of new ideals, discarding the old threads of worn-out opinions and age-old prejudices, so we create the hope and strength which comes with fellowship. Each group is an indispensable part of the whole structure, and when all groups are functioning as independent units and themselves supplying inspiration and generating power, we shall have created the framework of a new pacifist society.

To achieve this end means terrific self-sacrifice on the part of every one of us. That we shall achieve it I have no doubt. It is useless to denounce the old order unless we are prepared to work for the new. If there is a group in your area, are you in

it? If there is not one in existence, will you write to me and offer your services so that between us we shall create it?

Time is slipping away, so don't hesitate—write NOW.

Peace Petition

COUNCILLOR W. C. ELLIOTT, of 36 Hanworth Road, Redhill, Surrey, who in October last launched a petition to be signed only by members of the Labour Party, and addressed to Mr. C. R. Attlee, MP, and members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, asking them to use their influence for an immediate cessation of hostilities as a preliminary to a peace conference, writes that the petition has had a remarkable reception, assistance having been offered from all parts of England and from Scotland and Wales.

Mr. Elliott made this effort entirely on his own initiative and it has no organization backing it. Consequently the signatories can only represent a small section of the actual number of Labour Party members who are opposed to the war, but the letters received give a clear indication that the membership is by no means so unanimously behind the "Support the War" policy as the leadership evidently imagines.

It was intended to close the petition last month, but in view of many requests it is being kept open until February 16, and petition sheets, each containing space for twelve signatures, can be obtained from Mr. Elliott at the above address. Any Labour Party members who would like to collect signatures should write to him immediately, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.

How P.P.U. Groups Are Working for Peace

THE Newton Abbot Urban District Council recently discussed a letter from the Peace Pledge Union, signed by E. C. Maddax, accusing the Council of exceeding its duty and using the methods of dictators in refusing permission for the PPU to hold a meeting at the Town Hall or Public Library. The matter was referred to the Finance Committee.

The local PPU hopes to start on a series of public meetings in the near future. A trial tribunal for COs was held on Monday.

Last week the Cornish Region received a visit from Maurice Rowntree. Meetings were held at Camborne, Penzance, Falmouth and Truro, and, considering the weather, the number present at each was exceedingly good.

A new group has been formed at Helston and all interested should get in touch with Miss O. Metcalfe, The Hollies, Church-street, Helston.

Stuart Morris at Grantham

A GRANTHAM meeting last Friday was addressed by Stuart Morris. Unfortunately Miss Mary Gamble was unable to be present owing to illness and the weather was responsible for an hour's delay in Stuart Morris's arrival. The local group stepped into the breach and instituted a discussion which lasted until the speaker arrived.

Stuart Morris spoke on "War Aims and Peace Terms" and used the opportunity for replying effectively to the accusation of the Bishop of Grantham which occasioned two and a half columns of correspondence in the local press on the day of the meeting.

The meeting was presided over by the Rev. H. W. Child, local Congregational Pastor.

East Finchley Resolution

A PUBLIC meeting at East Finchley last Friday passed a resolution, with only one dissenter, that the Prime Minister should call an immediate armistice and a world conference to settle outstanding international problems. The speakers were Dr. A. Herbert Gray and the Rev. H. J. Blackmore.

Dr. Gray said that there was no hope of peace while the nations persisted in national independence and sovereignty.

The Rev. Raymond Taunton, non-pacifist minister of East Finchley Methodist Church, who supported the resolution, was in the chair.

Wandsworth Assists the Poor

IN March, 1939, the Wandsworth group decided that a fresh channel for the expression of its pacifism should be opened in the shape of some constructive work amongst the very poor in the district.

Following an interview with the headmaster of a local LCC school, who gave valuable assistance, twelve boys, aged 12 and 13, were invited to the Friends' Meeting House where a room had been obtained, there to spend an evening at games. The intention was, and still is, to keep close contact with the boys over the school leaving period and through adolescence, seeking all opportunities of personal help, advice, and example.

One of the women members of the group was invited to help with local Care Committee work, and in this way to keep the men workers advised as to home conditions. The Club, which met once a week, was a great success and members and friends helped by supplying a billiard table, ping pong, draughts, darts, &c. This culminated in the summer with a weekend spent at camp in the country, a novel experience for all the boys, who enjoyed it greatly.

Just after this, war broke out; the boys, and some of the helpers were evacuated, and the club was closed down. Within a month, however, it was re-opened, most of the boys having returned home, and fresh helpers having volunteered. With no school open for the boys to attend the helpers decided that more constructive work should be attempted, and accordingly a

second night in the week was organized for hobbies. The number on the register had risen from the original twelve to twenty, and it was possible to open four hobbies classes, all of which have now successfully settled down. They are photography, fretwork, lino-cutting, and stamp collecting.

At Christmas, with the help of friends, it was possible to distribute eight very large Christmas parcels containing food, games and presents to the most needy homes.

Hyde Park Platform

THE West London Region has now taken over the management of the Hyde Park PPU Platform with the assistance of Mr. Fredric Lohr and a few others who have, during the past, done very valuable work in keeping it "alive" at considerable expense for travel, literature, &c.

Speakers are drawn from the Region, and detailed arrangements are managed by the Propaganda Committee. Support from London PPU members at the Sunday afternoon meetings at 3 p.m. will be welcomed. During the spring it is hoped to extend the meetings throughout the day.

Cardiff Social Evening

THE Cardiff group, which meets every Tuesday, at 7 p.m., will be holding a social evening on Tuesday, February 6, at the YWCA Hall, Charles Street, Cardiff. Conscientious Objectors have been especially invited and the charge has been kept down to ninepence.

If there are any proceeds they will go to the Ellerslie Community which has been started by members of the group who became unemployed following the outbreak of War.

The Secretary is Mr. V. C. Reynolds, 74 Pentre Gardens, Cardiff.

Holyhead Members Busy

THE past few weeks have been very busy for the Holyhead members who are making themselves responsible for a country campaign. Meetings have been held at Mcnai Bridge and Llanfaethlu where groups are about to be formed.

In Holyhead itself public meetings have been held regularly at which the speakers included Mr. George M. L. Davies, president of Heddychwyr Cymru, Richard Bishop, chairman of Heddychwyr Cymru, Captain Stanley Davies, Llandegfan, and the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, Northern Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Meetings are held every Tuesday evening at the Carlton Hotel, and arrangements are now being made for the holding of an Easter Week-End School where, it is expected, several national speakers will be present.

The officials for the ensuing year are: President, Mrs. Dorothy Stevens, Tremygarn; Secretary, Mr. Ifor Wyn Roberts, Heddlys Plashyford Terrace, Holyhead; treasurer, Mr. John Williams, Tanybryn Road; literature secretary, Mr. Idrys Jones, Moreton Road. The group is prepared to give every assistance to conscientious objectors, and those who have or are due to register as CO's are especially invited to attend group meetings or communicate with any of the officials.

Clothing for Refugees

THE Reading PPU Women's Working Party is collecting, making and renovating clothing for refugees.

During 1939 it sent 2,449 articles of clothing to refugees. They were divided out as follows: Spain (776), Poland (1,112), Spanish refugees in France (71), Reading evacuees (485) and Internment camps (5).

ON January 8 the Woodford group staged a Mock Tribunal. Five cases were heard, and, although the tribunal gave no direct advice, applicants gained useful experience in voicing their beliefs.

A joint meeting with the For has been arranged for February 5, and John Barclay will speak on March 4. Both meetings will be at Derby Road Methodist Church, at 8 p.m.

There is a pressing need for some more volunteers for Peace News selling on Saturdays from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m.

Catford's Refugee Social

THE Catford Trinity Congregational Church Hall was packed recently when the Forest Hill and District Group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation combined with the Lewisham branch of the PPU in organizing a Refugee Social. About fifty of those present were of nationalities other than British and most of them were refugees.

Welcome was expressed by the Rev. C. A. Rowlands in English, and in German by Pastor Boeckhale.

Bermondsey Open-Air Meeting

ON Saturday last Bermondsey group held its first open-air meeting since the beginning of the war. Three group members spoke on "Why we are opposing this war and all war" and a member of the NCL spoke on the "reason why all Socialists should oppose all war."

Owing to the weather the attendance was poor and the audience was changing continually. It is intended, however, to persevere with these meetings.

At the last group meeting—held jointly with the NCL there was a debate on "Is war ever justified?" The motion was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Goole Activities

THE Goole (Yorks) group started the new year with a business meeting on January 4. On January 18 Mr. Max Walker addressed a public meeting when he spoke on "Christian Pacifism." The meeting proved successful both from the point of view of attendance and interest shown.

New Peterborough Chairman

OWING to Mr. A. C. Gilpin having left Peterborough for Paris, in order to undertake international refugee work, Mr. A. E. Tomlinson has now been appointed chairman of the local group.

Members are to give a series of papers on the subject, "Can War Be Abolished?" On January 8, Mr. A. F. Cray spoke on "War: Its Nature and Philosophy"; on January 15, Mr. G. Simpson spoke on "The Causes of War"; on January 22, Mr. A. E. Tomlinson spoke on the new leaflet, "Pacifism, Revolution and Community."

Meetings are held every Monday evening, at 8.15 p.m., in the Friends' Meeting House, Thorpe Road, Peterborough.

Maidstone's Winter Activities

MAIDSTONE members have been active throughout the winter. Since Christmas several of them have combined with other pacifists to organize a successful Twelfth Night party for about fifty refugees.

On January 14, the group sponsored a performance of *Tobias and the Angel*, James Bridie's play, which was given on this occasion by the Pilgrim Players of Canterbury.

The performance was given in a small private theatre and eighty members and friends were present. The Pilgrim Players, directed by Mr. E. Martin Browne, who produced *Murder in the Cathedral*, and T. S. Eliot's *Family Reunion*, are a band of professional actors and actresses who, as pacifists, are taking drama into the smallest villages of Kent and Sussex.

Every Thursday, a PPU group meeting is held at 348 Loose Road, Maidstone. Weekly programmes have been arranged for February and March.

When You Move

MEMBERS are asked to make a special point of sending any changes of address to PPU Headquarters at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Seeking Facts About Unemployment

THE National Association Against Unemployment propose to verify the facts of the unemployment problem at present, and in the light of them, take any action that such a review might call for.

They ask individuals to supply them with the facts of the problem today in their own districts.

They desire to know:

- how the war has affected the unemployed in each locality;
- whether the personnel has changed (e.g. from labourer to black-coated worker);
- whether poverty has increased and why (stating typical cases if possible); and
- whether the "hard core" has been affected.

The idea is to cover the whole of the British Isles and thus get as live a picture as possible of the situation today, backed by substantial evidence. All replies should be sent by February 10, 1940, to the Association, at Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.

Big Peace Meeting for West London

THE West London Region of the Peace Pledge Union is holding a "Stop the War" meeting at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, on Sunday afternoon, February 4, beginning at 3 p.m.

The Independent Labour Party, the No Conscription League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation are among the other bodies sponsoring the meeting.

Andrew Stewart, who fought the Clackmannan by-election and is the assistant editor of *Peace News*, will be one of the speakers, and it is hoped that Bob Edwards, the I.L.P. Stretford candidate will also speak. In addition, Rev. R. W. Sorensen, who is an East London M.P., and Will Morris, organizing secretary of the No Conscription League will speak, and Mr. J. Allen Skinner will be in the chair.

There are well over a thousand free seats and the organizers expect a large crowd.

First Aid Classes for Pacifists

A course of first aid classes for Pacifists will begin today (Friday), at 7 p.m., in the Dick Sheppard Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1. A small charge will be made to cover expenses.

Further particulars from the Pacifists Service Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today, Friday

GLASGOW; 7.30 p.m. Lower Reid Hall. Queenshill Street; Henry A. Barter on "Pacifism"; No Conscription League.

GLASGOW; 8 p.m. ILP Rooms; group meeting; G. Aldred on "Support for CO's"; No Conscription League.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Barbara Wootton on "Federal Union"; PPU.

LOTHBURY; 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (back of Bank of England—entrance in St. Margaret's Close); Mr. Saunders; City PPU group.

MUSWELL HILL; 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Church Crescent; Cecil H. Wilson; PPU.

Tomorrow, Saturday

BOSCOMBE (Bournemouth); 6 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; Tony Warner on "Why a Pacifist should not be a Socialist"; PPU.

LONDON, W.1; 2.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; conference of CO's and absolutists of the Great War; speaker at second session (5 to 7 p.m.) A. Creech Jones; tea, 4.15 p.m.

STRATFORD; 3 p.m. Stratford Broadway (Town Hall); Peace Campaign; opening poster parade; PPU.

UPPER TOOTING; 3.45 p.m. Holy Trinity Church; service of Meditation and Prayer for Peace; address: Rev. C. G. Holland; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

WORCESTER; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Gerald K. Hibbert on "The Maintenance of our Ideals"; PPU.

WALTHAMSTOW; 2.30 p.m. Hoe Street Station (in Selborne Road); meet for mass selling of Peace News; PPU.

Sunday, February 4

BARKING; 8 p.m. Baths Hall, East Street; Andrew Stewart, Rev. H. G. Tindall, Dr. C. A. Smith and J. V. Poulson (chairman); subject: "Why War?" PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Miss P. E. Brockway on "Problems of Germany"; PPU.

HAMMERSMITH; 3 p.m. King's Theatre; West London Rally for Peace; Andrew Stewart (PPU), Will Morris (NCL) and Rev. R. Sorensen, M.P.; chairman: J. Allen Skinner; admission free.

NORTHAMPTON; 8.30 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; monthly breakfast; address by C. Lord (London); PPU.

SUTTON; 3 p.m. Dashwood Hall, Carshalton Road; James Hudson on "The Quaker way of Peace applied to principles of International Security"; PPU.

Monday, February 5

EWELL, Surrey; 8 p.m. Ewell Vicarage, Church Street; group business; Reginald J. Heathorn on "Progress and Freedom"; PPU.

WAKEFIELD; 7.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Thornhill Street; Mrs. A. Millington on "Poets of Peace"; PPU.

Tuesday, February 6

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, West Ham Lane; H. Woodcock on "The Case for Pacifism"; Peace Campaign; PPU.

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air Meeting; John Barclay; City PPU group.

Wednesday, February 7

BALHAM; 8 p.m. Small Trevenna Hall, Boundaries Road; Andrew Stewart on "What is Our Task Now?" PPU.

BAYSWATER; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; series: Economics for Everyman; 1. Ernest Davies on "The Failure of the Capitalist System"; PPU.

GREAT YARMOUTH; "Johnson's Rooms," Northgate Street; John Barclay; 3 p.m. Women's Meeting; 7.30 p.m. general meeting; PPU.

Thursday, February 8

CHEAM; 8 p.m. 22 Cecil Road; Mr. Thomas on "Federal Union"; PPU.

Friday, February 9

BIRMINGHAM; 7.30 p.m. Digbeth Institute; Dr. Alfred Salter, Sybil Morrison and Herbert Whitley (chairman); PPU.

EPSOM; 7.30 p.m. Sherwood School, 6 Burgh Heath Road; A. Stephen Noel on "Pacifism and Politics"; PPU.

KING'S LYNN; 7.30 p.m. The Welfare Hut, South Everard Street; Alex Wood and R. H. Kerkham (chairman); PPU and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

LEICESTER; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; Rev. R. C. Walton on "The Right Deed for the Wrong Reason"; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Reginald Reynolds on "India"; PPU.

LOTHBURY; 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (back of Bank of England—entrance in St. Margaret's Close); H. Runham Brown on "The War Resisters' International in War-time"; City PPU group.

NORWICH; 8 p.m. Friends' Hall, Pottergate; John Barclay on "What hopes are there for Peace in 1940?"; PPU.

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Conference Hall, West Ham Lane; E. C. Redhead on "Pacifism as a Faith"; PPU.

Saturday, February 10

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; 2.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street; annual general meeting; 4.45 p.m. tea; 6 p.m. public meeting; Andrew Stewart and Dr. Arthur Raistrick (chairman); PPU.

WORCESTER; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Wilfred Wellock on "Whither Europe?"; PPU.

Letters to Other Editors

Black-out and Bombing

Recently our bombers made a night journey over Germany, Austria, and Poland; reports were published in the newspapers to the effect that they found certain towns were well lit, others partially lit, and others completely blacked-out. If we can fly over and report towns completely blacked-out in Germany, surely the Germans can do the same thing here?

We seem to have lost all sense of proportion. Let us remember that there are two kinds of bombing—one, precision bombing to hit a target, and the other promiscuous bombing over an area to create chaos and upset the moral of the populace. Up to the present in five months of war on all fronts, including Poland and Finland, no reports appear to have come through of night promiscuous bombing: all the bombing has been of the precision type and consequently done when the target was visible. If the frightfulness of promiscuous night-bombing were ordered by Hitler—and I do not put it past him—London with an area of about 40 miles square, and other big city areas, could easily be bombed in spite of the black-out.

I suggest that attempts at any sort of accurate precision bombing at night with the balloon barrage, searchlights, anti-aircraft guns, &c., is extremely unlikely. If that is so, why should we continue to kill hundreds of people each month on our roads if the danger for which we are paying this colossal toll does not really exist?

Sir WILLIAM BRASS, M.P.

The Times, Jan. 30.

Bishop of Grantham's Attack on Pacifists

I was extremely interested in the opinion of the Bishop of Grantham, expressed in the Cathedral on Sunday week, that the pacifists are chiefly responsible for the war. Such a sweeping statement from one in so eminent a position deserves some explanation. It certainly appears a gross exaggeration to say that 2 percent of the community (I take this figure as being the percentage registering as conscientious objectors) are responsible for war. The Bishop appears to ignore the fact that the pacifist movement has continually attempted to exercise that "ministry of reconciliation" which should be the task of the whole Christian Church; does he include this work in the pacifists' war-responsibility?

As for the Bishop's general argument, one would have thought that the fact which he quotes that it is "after 20 years necessary to do the same thing again," is sufficient evidence to show the futility of war as a method of solving international problems and the need for Christian principles of forgiveness, repentance and unselfishness in the international sphere.

Is it not rather surprising, even shameful, that a minister of Christ should use his pulpit publicly to condemn those whose chief sin, apparently, is to have come to the conclusion that you cannot "love your enemies" and kill them, and that you cannot "feed your enemies" and blockade them? Or possibly those words of our Lord were what the Bishop calls "shallow sentimentality."

If the Bishop is willing to come and give us his evidence, I shall be delighted to arrange a special meeting of pacifists to discuss the matter with him—amicably, of course.

OWEN R. PAGE.

Grantham Journal, Jan. 23.

[The above was one of the many pacifist letters published by this newspaper, which commented: "Never—not in recent years at any rate—have so many signed letters on a single subject appeared in one week... which proves the highly controversial nature of the topic under discussion." And also, we would add, the Grantham Journal's respect for freedom of discussion, even in time of war.—Ed., Peace News.]

The Bishop has been invited to state his case in Peace News, but has so far not even acknowledged our communication.

The Church and the B.E.F.

So the Church is watching the morals of the troops. I am somewhat perturbed to know upon which class of morals it is exercising vigilance. Does it refer to the troops' sexual life, their creative instinct, or is it going to attack the immorality of taking life? For the Church to delve too deeply into Christian ethics during wartime would be, to say the least, most embarrassing to a government whose primary war aim is to win the war.

I notice, too, with equal concern, that the Archbishop of Canterbury is promoting a scheme for the giving of talks, public and personal, on the Christian religion. Is the Archbishop really going to teach the Christian religion? I beg of him to be careful—it savours so strongly of sedition nowadays.

D. A. WICKHAM.

News Chronicle, January 23.

Only Sons

Sir Basil Clarke, commenting on Judge Stewart's reference to only sons among conscientious objectors suggests that large families like his own have a firmer grip on ideals. Only sons suffer more from a "myopic ethical viewpoint."

If this be so, then France is the shortest-sighted country in Europe, having most only sons. Sweden, New Zealand, and England are somewhat better; in Italy vision is clearer, and moral perspicacity is perfect in Japan and those islands of the Pacific that have innumerable children.

WILFRID ALLOTT.

Manchester Guardian, Jan. 15.

Work for Refugees

I see in the papers that German and Austrian refugees in this country are to be allowed to work. Isn't it bad enough that we have to give shelter to several hundred thousand unwanted refugees—many of them, I am sure, Nazi spies or Bolshevik agitators—without allowing them

We reproduce under this heading excerpts from letters to editors of other journals which we believe would be of interest to readers of "Peace News." We cordially invite cuttings, especially from the local Press, for inclusion. Each cutting should bear the name of the periodical from which it comes.

to take the bread out of the mouths of English working men?

BLACKSHIRT.

These are the facts about refugees, as stated by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons on November 23: Number of German, Austrian, Polish and Czech refugees in Britain: 39,646 men, 51,293 women; total, 90,939. But of this total of 90,939, several thousand are women domestic servants, of whom there is a scarcity in this country.

When war broke out there were 50,000 refugees in Britain waiting to go to America. Many of those are still here, but will emigrate as soon as they get a ship. So much for Blackshirt's "hundreds of thousands."

Of the refugees who remain here, only those authorised by the Ministry of Labour will be allowed to work, and the Ministry first satisfies itself that no British workers are available for the job. As regards "Nazi spies and Bolshevik agents," all aliens in this country coming from Germany and Austria have to go before Tribunals, which intern them if they consider them suspicious. Of the first 35,000 cases they examined, the tribunals found it necessary to intern only 348.

Picture Post, January 27.

Call a Halt Now!

For humanity's sake, let us seize the heaven-sent opportunity offered by the continued slack phase of the war, and call a halt at once.

Let Britain at least, if she be truly great, forget the fine-phrased hypocrisy which has served to spur men on to slaughter since the dawn of Time, and arrange a conference.

Such a step would not only spare millions untold suffering, but would show an anxious world that civilisation still has a chance and that

common human sympathy, sanity and tolerance may ensure its continuance.

M. WALL.

—Daily Herald, January 16.

Empire—Fact

I read that our Minister of Supply and the French Minister of Armament declared jointly that Britain and France are no longer just allies, but a union of two empires. If they ever do become one empire, how much of the earth will it cover?

R. MORE.

[Over a third, and containing over a quarter of the total population.]

—Daily Express, January 22.

Relief Work in Turkey for COs—A Suggestion

It is clearly the Government's intention to avoid unnecessary and useless imprisonment for conscientious objectors during this war. Yet there are many men who will have to experience imprisonment because of their refusal to do any kind of war work. The majority of such men would, however, be willing to engage in some good service not connected with the war. It is therefore suggested that the Government should give them an opportunity of going to Turkey to help in the relief work and the administration of the money we are giving to that country, or in other similar services.

V. G. EDWARDS.

—Manchester Guardian, January 15.

Passive Resistance

In the surprising event of Hitler asking for England the pacifists would answer "Come and try." If Hitler and his armies came, then all England regardless of age and sex, would unite in non-violently resisting him. The German army would most likely refuse to and could not possibly kill a whole unarmed nation. The Germans forced the French to leave the Ruhr in this way, and the British have as much grit.

William Penn, one of these "cowardly pacifists," dealt successfully unarmed with the wild Red Indians, whom regiments failed to quell.

Another of these "cowardly pacifists" after the war broke out went through Germany with some Nazi officers to Poland to see about relief work for the Poles.

MARION D. COLES.

—Northamptonshire Telegraph, January 6.

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BOOKS

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which Action and the New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

EDUCATIONAL

CORRESPONDENCE AND VISIT LESSONS in writing, speaking, and poetry (taken together). Consideration of personal and international relationships as basis for speaking and story, play, and article writing.—Miss Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3.

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LECTURES

INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE (Forest Gate Branch): 7.30 p.m., Tuesday, February 6, "Glendale," 234 Romford Road, Forest Gate (500 yards from "Princess Alice"). Film lecture on Japan, Mr. H. G. Brewster-Gow. All welcome. Refugees specially invited.

LITERATURE

"LOVERS OF THE HEIGHTS"—Peace Play (A. M. P. Dawson) obtainable from "Willowdene," London Road, Amersham. 6d. post free.

MISCELLANEOUS

ADELPHI MUSIC CLUB (The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club) would welcome singers in all voices to take part in Passion Music by H. Schutz (1585-1672), which will be performed in Chelsea Parish Church on the Wednesday before Easter. Rehearsals are held at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club on Thursdays at 8 p.m. Further details may be obtained from Raymond Page, the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, W.1.

ALL PACIFISTS WHO LIKE DANCING should conduct classes immediately. They provide fellowship and help finances. Weekly instruction is.—H. H. G., 65 Coleby Road, Aspley, Nottingham.

PERSONAL

WOULD YOUNG MAN share with another unique court-yard cottage, W.C.1? Charming furnished. Telephone, bath, &c. 25s. approx.—Box 310, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PRINTING

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RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

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EX-SCHOOL MISTRESS, cottage Yorkshire, mountain scenery, requires capable cook-house-keeper, 15s. weekly.—Skeat, 28, Beechwood Road, Sanderstead.

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DON'T KEEP IT TO YOURSELF!

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 34,700. (almost sold out).
Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £8 2s. 11d.
Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £447 14s. 9½d.

THERE are still plenty of people who would gladly buy *Peace News* if they knew it existed.

This is clearly shown by letters we receive from new readers who have seen the paper for the first time.

One such letter came the other day from a pacifist of long standing. Now that he has "discovered" the paper he wants to let as many other people as possible know about it. He writes:

"It might help if you could get groups or individuals to buy extra copies of 'Peace News' each week and leave one or both on the seat in the train, bus or tram, even in 'phone boxes."

"The flood of propaganda that could be started in this way would greatly compensate for the expense of ordering extra copies."

This reader is already acting on his own suggestions.

Another reader, in Wakefield, stresses the value of *Peace News* posters permanently displayed outside newsagents.

He suggests that all Peace Pledge Union groups should see that this is done wherever possible, and adds:

"I consider that the poster: 'Buy "Peace News," organ of the Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard. Obtainable at newsagents,' is more effective than the posters which apply to only one issue."

"Results would be infinitely better if every newsagent who would give this co-operation would keep one of these posters permanently displayed."

(The *Peace News* fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—
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Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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AN ALTERNATIVE TO CONSCRIPTION

(continued from page 1)

constructive and costly service is their distinctive pacifist witness—those who feel that their witness must somehow testify not only to their renunciation of war, but also to their solidarity with their fellows, even when these are waging war.

Perhaps no consistent witness of this kind is possible—certainly it is terribly difficult to achieve if only because so many avenues of constructive service open during time of peace are closed in time of war. The activity must be viewed not merely in itself, but also in relation to the war purpose of the nation.

All proposals for mass regimentation of objectors under semi-military discipline for purposes closely associated with the prosecution of war will be suspect, even if they are under civilian control, and must be very closely examined by those whose instinct for service predisposes them to accept some such scheme.

The Derby Scheme

Similar suspicion attaches to the proposal made a few weeks ago by Lord Derby for dealing with the young men leaving school at 18 and not called up till 20 years of age.

Employers, it is said, will hesitate to take on and train boys whom they are to lose two years afterwards. The proposal is that small contingents should be formed to work on the land, in industry or in other parts of the Empire, and provided with uniform, shelter, good food and some pay—enlistment to be voluntary. The scheme is to have the further advantage that it will break down social and class barriers.

In considering this scheme we must try to forget that it comes from Lord Derby, but even when we have done this we shall still remember the way in which voluntary schemes tend to become compulsory over night, and pledges given against compulsion to be forgotten and dishonoured.

Copying the Nazis

Clearly, however, even if we disregard this danger, the scheme is open to grave objection. It is frankly a leaf taken from the Nazi book. *The Times Literary Supplement* says that "under the Nazi it has become a part—in many ways the best part—of the pre-military training of youth." It is supported by those who think that what youth requires is discipline, to be secured by dressing it up in uniform, and giving it the "right kind of leadership."

Now let us frankly admit that the situation has been rightly diagnosed. Youth does require discipline—not the external discipline which makes good pre-military training, but the self-discipline which is entirely different in its nature, and fits men for a free democracy and not for the irresponsibility of a Nazi regime.

As for the attempt to break down class distinctions, if the scheme were to be limited to boys leaving school at 18, the largest and most important class in the country would be almost completely excluded.

NEWS FROM ABROAD U.S. Pacifists See Dangers in President's Policy

TWENTY Americans who were in prison as conscientious objectors during the Great War were among the 400 guests at the annual dinner of the American War Resisters' League, held in New York recently.

One of them was Rudolph J. Vrana, the first American conscript sentenced to death for refusal to put on a uniform. In common with sixteen others who received the same sentence, he was spared by President Wilson.

Another of those present at the dinner, Howard Moore, was undergoing severe treatment in prison as a CO, when word was received that he had been awarded a Carnegie medal for bravery in rescuing a woman from drowning at the risk of his own life.

Speakers at the dinner condemned President Roosevelt's request for increased

armament appropriations and a proposal to grant the President war-time power over industry in time of peace.

The Rev. A. J. Muste, chairman of the United Pacifist Committee, declared: "This means that the President is seeking to gather into his own hands the entire control of the nation's foreign policy and practically to put the nation on a war basis, to introduce industrial mobilization while the nation is at peace."

"Autocratic control over employers and requisition of their plants by the executive is bound to involve similar control over labour, and presently to be extended to any attempt of the Press, radio or pulpit to criticize acts of the President under this so-called emergency regulation."

Madame Kamaledevi, famous leader of India and follower of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, attacked British imperialism in India, and the hypocrisy of Britain's stand in the present war.

"The Indian stand on the present war is of immense importance," she said, "for it is the crux of the whole problem. No country can really uphold the cause of democracy while it is itself denying democratic rights to millions of people and ruling them by dictatorship and suppression of normal laws and liberties."

Danish Resisters Reaffirm Their Stand

WHILE the fear of war spreading to the Scandinavian countries grows from day to day, a statement issued by "Aldrig mere Krig"—Danish section of the War Resisters' International—reaffirms opposition to war preparations.

"When the time of devastation is past," runs the statement, "it will be of incalculable value for the reconstruction which must follow that a large group of men have kept hate from their hearts. We therefore have a greater duty than ever to be steadfast in our loyalty to our idea."

The statement goes on to show how black-out tests and so on create a war mentality and panic.

"From this grows the demand for what is called active ARP. The Government already asks for twenty millions extra for the military services, including some for anti-aircraft guns."

"Be Steadfast"

"According to the ideas of 'Aldrig mere Krig,' our defence must be effected exclusively by peaceful means, and we therefore call upon our members to work against the means of war, and the methods of war, whether they are called military or civil."

Referring to "preparatory practices," the statement goes on: "We must all recognize that this is a matter on which it may be very difficult to come to a decision, and the Council is quite aware that it is not expressing the point of view of all members. We wish to make it quite clear that, in this connexion, every member must come to his own decision, guided by his pledge to oppose war and preparations for war."

"The time has now come when our point of view may involve serious inconveniences for us. May we have strength to be true to our convictions."

"It must be an encouragement and stimulus to us to know in these times, that we do not stand alone. Thousands of comrades all over the world, in the belligerent countries as well, stand as we do. It is our duty to them all to be steadfast, for it is our duty to encourage and strengthen each other."

"Industrialists throughout the country are wishing to insure against an early finish to the war. Many producers have become anxious about what might happen should an early armistice be signed and large quantities of goods be left on their hands."—*The Times*, November 16.

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